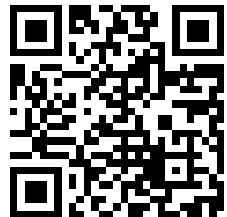


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THE STONE OF THE FOUNDATION

BY KEMPER FULLERTON  
Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin

In introducing his discussion of Isa. 28:16 Delitzsch remarks: "Upon the 'therefore' resumptive of the 'therefore' in verse 15 promise follows instead of threat, *just as at 7:14*, but it is a promise to the faithful." Delitzsch has rightly felt that the problem presented by the "therefore" at 28:16 is much the same as that at 7:14. In the *Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* for July, 1918 I undertook to formulate more precisely the problem presented by 7:14 in its context. It may not be altogether fruitless to formulate more carefully the similar problem at 28:16.

At the outset the passages are in one particular in the sharpest contrast. While the interpretation of 7:14 is undoubtedly most perplexing, the text of the verse presents no irregularities, grammatical or lexical, of any sort; the text of 28:16 on the other hand is doubtful in the extreme. If the Massoretic interpretation of it is followed, three thoughts are expressed: (1) the stone is already laid; (2) the reliability or trustworthiness of the stone is principally emphasized; (3) the advantage of faith is indicated. Its preciousness is also indicated by the one word יְקִירָה. The first idea is



expressed by the vocalization of the first phrase in clause *בְּהִנֵּנִי יְהוָה*; the second by the word *בְּהִנֵּנִי* in verse 16*b* and the phrase *בְּהִנֵּנִי יְהוָה* in verse 16*c*, and the third by the phrase *לֹא יִהְיֶה* in verse 16*d*. But can the conception of the text indicated by these words and phrases be accepted?

## I. EXAMINATION OF THE TEXT

### A. THE HEBREW TEXT

1. The view that the stone is already laid depends upon the vocalized, not upon the consonantal text. Can this vocalization be adopted with any confidence? It involves two things, first a perfect tense referring to past time after *וְהִנֵּנִי*, and secondly the incongruity of person. The first of these constructions may be accepted without question, though it is infrequent. But only Isa. 29:14 and 38:5 have ever been used to support the incongruity of person.<sup>1</sup> The intention of the vocalization in these two passages is not quite clear. The vocalization is not recognized in either passage by G nor by the Massoretic Text itself at II Kings 20:5*b*-6 = Isa. 38:5. It is quite possibly due to the unusual scriptio plena. Furthermore, in both passages the verb refers to the future. In neither of them is there any reason to depart from the normal participial construction after *וְהִנֵּנִי*, and to defend the vocalization of 28:16 by means of these two instances is to rely upon broken reeds. Nevertheless the very abnormal vocalization at 28:16*b* ought to be accounted for.<sup>2</sup>

2. The occurrence of the two *בְּהִנֵּנִי* together is not above suspicion.

3. The word *בְּהִנֵּנִי* as vocalized occurs only here as a noun. The same vocalized form occurs at Ezek. 21:18, but in an almost hopelessly corrupted text. Whether MT intends a noun in this passage or a verb in the pu'al it is impossible to say.<sup>3</sup> If the word

<sup>1</sup> The construction is supposed to involve an ellipsis—"Behold, I am the one who. . . ." Vitringa cites Deut. 32:39, Isa. 43:25, and Lam. 3:1 in explanation of the supposed construction.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 49 f. For rejection of the vocalization cf. Stade, p. 214 *b*: König, *Syntax*, p. 344 *o*. It is interesting to observe that Duhm relies only upon an exegetical argument to support the vocalization at 28:16 (see below p. 29). He does not even cite 29:14 or 38:5 in proof. At 29:14 he says "*וְהִנֵּנִי* can be regarded with the punctuation as impf." (italics mine), and at 38:5 he simply refers to 29:14.

<sup>3</sup> G, A, Syr., Vulg., see a verb here (*bebekalorai*, B; *βεβηκαλωρ*, Q<sup>ms</sup>, A; Sym. sees a noun (*βεβηκαλωρ*). The widely differing emendations offered by Cornill, Kraetzschmar, and Ehrlich witness to the great difficulties of the passage. Hitzig long ago suggested that *בְּהִנֵּנִי* should be pointed *בְּהִנֵּנִי* (with favor).



is retained at Isa. 28:16, it refers undoubtedly to the quality of the stone as proved or tried (so, almost all commentators), not as a touchstone, with allusion to 8:14.<sup>1</sup>

4. The construction of the phrase **פֶּנֶת יִקְרָה בַּיּוֹסֵף** is a highly involved one. (a) The fact that the construct **פֶּנֶת** is followed by an adjective instead of a noun is in itself unusual, yet not unique,<sup>2</sup> and possibly finds its analogy also at verse 1 (**צִיָּץ נִבֵּל**). (b) The abnormality of the construction lies, rather, in the fact that the adjective itself in the construct intervenes between the noun and the following genitive. The only case supposed to be similar to this is found at verses 1a and 4a.<sup>3</sup>

5. In connection with the foregoing phrase the usage of the adjective **יִקְרָה** in the Old Testament should be noted. When applied to stones at all this adjective is regularly used of precious stones or jewels (sixteen times). It is used of building stones only four times, once of the hewn stones of the temple, I Kings 5:31 (17) and three times of the hewn stones in Solomon's palace, I Kings 7:9, 10, 11. The chronicler also uses the word of the temple stones, but he seems to have precious stones or jewels in mind. (Compare I Chron. 29:2 and II Chron. 3:6; both passages peculiar to the Chronicler.) Does the adjective in our present passage have in mind more especially a jewel, or a building stone, or a building stone rhetorically described as a jewel?

<sup>1</sup> So Calvin; Vitranga, and Orelli would combine both meanings. They are probably influenced by Rom. 9:33 where Isa. 28:16 and 8:14 are combined.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. **קָטָן**, Isa. 22:24; **בְּרִיקַת טוֹב**, Prov. 24:25; and König, *Syntax*, pp. 243 f., though the examples of the construction here given need considerable sifting.

<sup>3</sup> The other instances cited by König, *Syntax*, p. 277 p (Jer. 4:11; Ezek. 6:11) are almost certainly corrupted. At vss. 1 and 4 both Gesenius and Hitzig regard **צִיָּץ** as in apposition to **נִבֵּל** and Kimchi also regards **צִיָּץ** in vs. 4 as an absolute. In that case vs. 16 would be without any analogy. Kimchi again takes **יִקְרָה** as an absolute in **ת**, the equivalent of **יִקָּר** (cf. his view of **צִיָּץ** vs. 4), and **בַּיּוֹסֵף** as in apposition. Ehrlich, though accepting the constructs at vss. 1 and 4, apparently holds to Kimchi's view of **יִקְרָה** at vs. 16, but takes **בַּיּוֹסֵף** as predicate. It might be urged that as a noun may intervene in a construct relation (cf. Isa. 32:13; 28:16; and Exod. 13:15b, passages cited by König, *Syntax*, p. 277 r) an adjective might do so also. Unfortunately these passages are in turn most dubious evidence. At Exod. 13:15b the construction of **רִדְהָם** is by no means certain. At Isa. 32:13 the accent suggests that **קִשּׁוּשׁ** with **זָכַר** is absolute, and the expression at Isa. 28:16 is so extremely awkward as to give rise to serious suspicion of the text. We may therefore conclude that the sequence of constructs at 28:16c is supported by the most meagre and dubious evidence.



6. Again the phrase **בִּיָּסֵד בִּיָּסֵד** is a very questionable one. Even the punctators seem to have been in doubt about it, for there are two rival methods of vocalization. The first method points the first **בִּיָּסֵד** as a noun in the construct and regards the second as a noun also. The phrase would then be translated "the foundation of the foundation."<sup>1</sup> The second and favorite view, which has been adopted in our modern editions of the Hebrew text, regards the first **בִּיָּסֵד** as a noun in the absolute and the second as a hoph'al participle, the meaning of which would be "a foundation that has been founded." But just what is the force of this curious phrase? The repetition is supposed to mark intensification, a foundation firmly laid, a sure foundation, and Ps. 64:7, Prov. 30:24, and Exod. 12:9 are cited in support of the idiom.<sup>2</sup> But are the phrases in these passages really analogous? The first of them, **יָחַפֵּשׁ יָחַפֵּשׁ**, stands in a very doubtful passage. Yet G, A, Sym., and Theod., so far as this phrase is concerned, support the MT, and it *does* seem to be properly translated "diligently searched" (R.V.). The second, **יִחְכְּמִים יִחְכְּמִים**, is supported by Theod. and is correctly translated "exceeding wise" (R.V.). G secures the same meaning by ingeniously translating the phrase as a comparison, "wiser than the wise." But this is done almost certainly because the Hebrew involves an idiom foreign to the Greek. At Exod. 12:9 (**בָּשֵׂל מִבָּשֵׂל**) G does not recognize intensification; but this, again, was probably because the idiom was strange and the translators at this point did not feel the force of it.<sup>3</sup> But in all these supposed analogies the participle is in the appropriate intensive form, pu'al, not hoph'al. Therefore they do not really substantiate the supposed construction at Isa. 28:16.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This construction seems to have been followed by Jarchi (see Vitringa).

<sup>2</sup> These three passages have been handed down in the exegetical tradition since the time of Vitringa, who tells us that he is indebted to a certain Hackspanius for them.

<sup>3</sup> Neither Dillmann nor Baentsch comment on the intensive. The R.V. correctly translates "boiled at all."

<sup>4</sup> The purpose of the daghesh in **מִיָּסֵד** has been questioned. It has been thought to mark an unusual assimilation of י (cf. **מִיָּסֵד** I Kings 7:9, and the analogous **הִלְדִּית** Gen. 40:20). This is by no means impossible, but König, *Lehrgebäude*, I, 92, follows a better clue when he suggests that the daghesh was intended to indicate a pu'al participle. This would bring the phrase into agreement with the other phrases noted above. The pu'al part. happens to occur again at I Kings 7:10 in connection with precious stones **אֲבִנֵּי יָקָרֹת**. It may be worth mentioning that the form **מִיָּסֵד** occurs again only



7. Finally, the verb **יָרַשׁ** is a most singular verb to use in this connection. It is found twenty-one times in the Old Testament and always means "to hurry." Nowhere does it mean in itself "to hurry away" or "flee." At Ps. 55:9 the idea of flight is conveyed by **בִּפְלֹט**. In the six remaining occurrences of the word in the Psalms it means "to hasten *toward*" rather than "to hasten *away*." Nor does it mean "to flee" even at I Sam. 20:38, for there it is purposely ambiguous. But the proper meaning of the verb "to hurry" at 28:16 is most unsuitable. To suppose that it means "to hurry" in the sense of "to be hurried" or "distracted"<sup>1</sup> is altogether too fanciful and cannot be adequately supported by the very doubtful passage, Job 20:2. It follows that the verb must be either given a meaning nowhere else found in the Old Testament, or be emended.<sup>2</sup>

From the foregoing it is evident that verse 16, simply from the text-critical point of view, is exceedingly suspicious. While the three thoughts mentioned above, namely the reliability or trustworthiness (and preciousness) of the stone, the fact that it is already laid, and the advantage of faith, are all expressed according to the massoretic conception of the text, they are expressed in the most singular and suspicious phraseology. Can any help be derived from the versions either by way of supporting or bettering or elucidating the text?

#### B. THE VERSIONS

If we turn to G we find that it departs from the Hebrew in two main particulars. It places the laying of the stone either in the present or future instead of in the past; and it seems to emphasize the preciousness of the stone rather than its reliability.

In the first place, G adopts the Greek equivalent of the participial construction of **הִנֵּנִי יָסַד**, which we have seen to be its normal

at II Chron. 8:16, and there with the active meaning, "a laying of the foundation." The usual words are **יָסַד** and **מִסְדֵּרֹת** (the latter always in the fem. pl.). The form **יָסַדְתִּי** at Ps. 87:1 is unique and is possibly to be corrected to the fem. pl. (cf. G). The form **מִסְדֵּרֶה** at Isa. 30:32 and implied at Ezek. 41:8 occurs in two very doubtful passages. **מִסָּד** is found once, I Kings 7:9.

<sup>1</sup> Suggested by BDB and adopted by G. A. Smith who makes it equivalent to "be fussed."

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 9 f.



construction. In this it is supported by the practically unanimous testimony of the other versions.<sup>1</sup> The phrase in G, ἐμβάλλω (ἐμβαλῶ) εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σειῶν λίθον, is very clearly an interpretative paraphrase and does not imply a different consonantal Hebrew text. The word ἐμβάλλω occurs only here as the translation of כָּבַד, but this fact does not imply another Hebrew word, for none of the dozen or more other words of which ἐμβάλλω is the equivalent could possibly have stood here. It is interesting to observe that according to G the stone is laid either *into* the foundation or *for* a foundation.<sup>2</sup> If the translation of εἰς by "into" is adopted, the stone is in a measure distinguished from the foundation and the attention is slightly, though ever so slightly, deflected from the thought of the reliability of the stone as the foundation, and the way prepared for the emphasis upon another characteristic of the stone. This deflection is still more apparent in the two New Testament passages where the simple phrase τίθημι ἐν Σιών λίθον does not suggest at all the idea of security which כָּבַד expresses. τίθημι is nowhere again used for כָּבַד. It is usually the equivalent of the rather colorless verbs שָׂם or נָתַן. Yet the slightly different shading of G's phraseology as compared with the Hebrew could be well passed by as without any real significance were it not that in its other peculiarities of phraseology G seeks to emphasize another quality of the stone than its solidity or trustworthiness. And this quality is its preciousness.<sup>3</sup> The emphasis upon the preciousness of the stone is seen in G's rendering of בִּזְיוֹן, of קִרְיָהּ and of מִיֶּסֶד.

1. Whereas A, Sym., Theod., undoubtedly read בָּהֶן and translate it by the appropriate word δοκιμον<sup>4</sup> (cf. also Syr.) in the sense of

<sup>1</sup> ἐμβάλλω, B; ἐμβαλῶ, X. A, Q, Barnabas 6:3; θεμελιῶν, A, Sym., Theod.; τίθημι, Rom. 9:33; I Pet. 2:6. So also Syr. and Targ.

<sup>2</sup> The exact force of εἰς is not quite certain. It so happens that everywhere else in G εἰς after ἐμβάλλω means "in" or "into." On the other hand it could be very properly translated "for," and this is undoubtedly the meaning of εἰς at Barnabas 6:3.

<sup>3</sup> It should be noticed in passing that G recognizes but one occurrence of אֶבֶן in vs. 16b.

<sup>4</sup> This adjective is found six times in G, regularly of pure or refined gold or silver, once the equivalent of יָקָר, Zech. 11:13. The verb δοκιμάω is the usual equivalent of the Hebrew verb בָּחַן. At Sirach 6:21 Wisdom is described as a λίθος δοκιμασίας ισχυρός, where, very clearly, the active force, a *testing* stone, is implied. But this is a Greek misunderstanding of the Hebrew text. It read אֶבֶן מִשָּׁה for אֶבֶן מִסָּה (cf. Smend, *ad loc.* and Zech. 12:3).



tried or tested, G's reading, *πολυτελῇ ἐκλεκτόν*, appears to be a double translation of *בִּהָן* and to give to it a different meaning. What is the occasion of this double translation? Are these words intended to be translations of *בִּהָן* or do they imply a different Hebrew text? In order to answer these questions it will be necessary to examine the use of these two words elsewhere.

a) *ἐκλεκτός* is a very general term. It is found in G one hundred and six times and is used as the equivalent of some twenty different Hebrew words, but more frequently of the root *בִּהָן* than of any other root. It is used for the root *בִּהָן* but once again (Prov. 17:3), but this is a doubtful case.<sup>1</sup> Out of the one hundred and six times of its occurrence. *ἐκλεκτός* is used of stones but 4 times: Jer. 38:39 (31:39), Isa. 54:12, Ezek. 27:22, and Ezra 5:8. In the first of these passages it occurs in an addition to the Hebrew text which it is impossible to understand. In the second it is the translation of *אֲבָן יְהוֹשֻׁעַ* and alludes to the precious stones in the walls of the glorified Zion.<sup>2</sup> In the third passage it is the translation of *יִקְרָה*, but this reading is neither certain nor exact.<sup>3</sup> In the fourth passage it is the translation of the Aramaic *גַּלְלָא* which refers in a laudatory way to the large building stones of the temple. In view of these statistics *ἐκλεκτόν* of G does not appear to represent *בִּהָן* in any exact way. It is even a question whether it represents it at all. It is, moreover, not the natural adjective to apply to a stone, though in view of Isa. 54:12 and Ezra 5:8 the possibility of such an application cannot be denied.

b) *πολυτελῇ*, on the other hand, is the usual adjective descriptive of fine stones. It is found fifteen times and in all but two cases<sup>4</sup> it is used of stones. In the thirteen cases in which it is thus applied it

<sup>1</sup> G is nothing but a paraphrase in this passage and in the parallel line *δοκιμάζεται* is found. This, as we have seen, is the regular translation of *בִּהָן* and may very well represent it here, rather than the adj. *ἐκλεκτός*. A. Sym., and Theod. read *δοκιμάζον* instead of *ἐκλεκτός*.

<sup>2</sup> *ἐκλεκτός* is used for *אֲבָן* only here, and *אֲבָן* itself is used of stones only here. *גַּבְרִיל* at Isa. 54:12 probably refers to the girdle wall of the temple inclosure.

<sup>3</sup> It is the only passage in which *יִקְרָה* is translated by *ἐκλεκτός*. This translation is found only in A. B has *χρηστών* (used for *יִקְרָה* again only at Ezek. 28:13). A. Sym., and Theod. have *τίμιον* at 27:22 and Sym. has the same word at 28:13. *τίμιος* is the usual translation of *יִקְרָה* in G. It is to be noted that the stones in Ezek., chaps. 27 and 28, are precious stones or jewels.

<sup>4</sup> Prov. 1:13 and Wisdom 2:7. In the first case it is used of a precious substance, *καθαίρη* = *הֶחָיִי*; in the second it is used of wine.



describes precious stones in all but one (Esd. 6:9). In this passage alone it seems to refer to the hewn stones of the temple.<sup>1</sup> Twice it corresponds to קָר (Prov. 1:13, Dan. 11:38); elsewhere it is the equivalent of כָּהֶם and פְּנִינִים and once of the doubtful word פִּרְךָ (I Chron. 29:2). From the statistics above it is clear that, while *πολυτελής* may refer to a building stone (Esd. 6:9), its natural application is to precious stones or jewels.

The question now arises, which of these two words, *πολυτελῆ* or *ἐκλεκτόν* represents the original reading in G? It would seem that *ἐκλεκτόν* is to be preferred. (a) It is much easier to account for the attempted substitution of *πολυτελῆ* for *ἐκλεκτόν* than of the latter word for the former. *ἐκλεκτόν* is a vague and general term, not the natural word to apply to a stone, whereas *πολυτελῆ* is much more precise in its meaning. It is easy to see how the substitution of the more precise term is an attempt to correct the vaguer term, especially if the stone, in the mind of the corrector, were a precious stone.<sup>2</sup> (b) If *ἐκλεκτόν* is the original reading in G it is possible to account for it as a mistaken translation of a supposed נִבְחָר, the נ having been doubled after אֶבֶן and the ך of בָּחַן confused with ך. As *ἐκλεκτόν* is the usual equivalent of בָּחַר (see above) this supposition becomes very probable.<sup>3</sup> But G's reading can scarcely have been the original reading in MT; it would rather tend to confirm the consonantal group בָּחַן of which בָּחַר would either be a corruption in the Hebrew copy used by the translators of G, or else due to the carelessness of these translators themselves in dealing with the rare word בָּחַן. (c) Finally *ἐκλεκτόν* is supported by Rom. 9:33 and I Pet. 2:6. On the other hand the double translation is found in Bar. 6:3.

2. The preciousness of the stone is again emphasized by the adjective *ἐντιμον*, this time in agreement with the Hebrew יָקָר of which it is an equivalent. Yet there is a peculiarity about the use of this adjective here which is noteworthy. While *ἐντιμον* is found a number of times as the equivalent of יָקָר, it is applied

<sup>1</sup> Guthe's view that it modifies the timber work is less probable.

<sup>2</sup> Did the phrasing at Job 31:24, λίθω πολυτελεὶ ἐπιπόθησα, also influence the text of our passage?

<sup>3</sup> For the translation of the niph'al of בָּחַר by *ἐκλεκτόν* cf. Prov. 8:19.



to a stone only once again, Tob. 13:16, where it refers to the walls of Jerusalem with a clear allusion to Isa. 54:11. But in this passage the reading is uncertain, and it is not impossible that another adjective was read.<sup>1</sup> The regular translation of יָקָרָה when applied to a stone in G is τίμιος.<sup>2</sup> ἔντιμος is usually applied to persons. The choice of the adjective here suggests that the thing figured by the stone rather than the stone itself is especially in mind.

3. Finally the deflection in G from the thought of the reliability of the stone is evidenced by the treatment of בִּיטוֹן בִּיטוֹן. In G the second בִּיטוֹן is omitted and the first is taken no longer as a genitive but is introduced by a preposition, εἰς τὰ θεμέλια αὐτῆς. It is evident that αὐτῆς refers to Zion and the phrase is resumptive of the phrase in verse 16b. In Origen's Hexapla the second בִּיטוֹן is obelized. In I Pet. 2:6 both בִּיטוֹן are omitted, while in Rom. 9:33 a phrase out of 8:14 has been substituted for them.<sup>3</sup> The tendency of these changes is to shift the emphasis from the "tried stone" which serves as the secure foundation to the "precious stone" (ἐκλεκτὸν, πολυτελεῖ, ἔντιμον) which is set into the foundation.

Two other important changes in G's text should be noticed. The first is the addition of ἐπ' αὐτῷ after ὁ πιστεύων in N, A, and Q (not in B), and also in I Pet. 2:6 (Barnabas 6:3 ἐλπίζει ἐπ' αὐτόν).<sup>4</sup>

The second variation is in the translation of לֹא יִדָּשׁ. While A, Sym., and Theod. follow the Hebrew here and translate by σπείσει, G has καταισχυνθῇ. It is not quite clear whether this word implies another reading or only a secondary meaning for יִדָּשׁ not found elsewhere in the Hebrew. In Arabic the יִדָּשׁ root has the meaning "to blush" and the יָדָּשׁ the meaning "to fear." (In agreement with this the Syriac and Targum [זַעַר] take the verb in the sense of "fear," while the Arabic version reads "blush.") The Arabic version preserves the meaning "to blush," the Targum and Syriac adhere to the meaning "to fear." The Targum translates by זַעַר, akin to the biblical Hebrew זָרַע "to tremble," "quake," the root

<sup>1</sup> ἔντιμος is the reading in B only; A has ἐπιτίμιος and N has the usual τίμιος.

<sup>2</sup> The only exceptions are Ezek. 27:22; 28:13; Dan. 11:38 (for these passages see above); and the doubtful Tobit passage.

<sup>3</sup> Syr. seems to read the two words but has trouble with them. Cf. its "precious corner, the head of the foundation wall."

<sup>4</sup> The Barnabas text is a very loose paraphrase in clauses c and d.



by the way from which **זרעה** in verse 19 comes. It is of special importance to notice that post-biblical Hebrew also has the word **חוש** or **חשש** (they are listed separately in Levy's *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*) in the sense of "think upon," "be anxious about," and even "suffer." Compare at I Sam. 24:6; Ps. 73:21 for the Hebrew **יִתְחַשֵּׁן**; Prov. 26:10 (the flesh of a fool suffers much). At Ps. 141:1 it stands for the biblical **חִישָׁה** but probably in the sense of "think upon me."

#### C. COMPARISON OF THE HEBREW AND THE GREEK TEXTS

If we now compare G and H in the attempt to decide between them, the conclusion seems irresistible that in general H is to be preferred and that G is to be understood as a paraphrase with a suggested interpretation. Nevertheless G also suggests that H may be emended with considerable probability at certain points. (1) G recognizes but one **אֶבֶן**. The deletion of the second is therefore probably to be accepted. But so far as the interpretation of the passage is concerned it makes no difference whether this emendation is adopted or not. (2) The evidence of G makes very strongly against the admission of a double **מִיֶּסֶד**. Since the construction involved in this repetition is very unlikely, and the repetition of the word can be readily understood as a case of dittography, one of the two **מִיֶּסֶד**, it does not matter which, may be safely rejected. (3) G confirms the suspicions already entertained of the present vocalization of **הַנִּי יֶסֶד**. It shows that the phrase refers to the present or future, not to the past, and in this G is supported by the other versions. (4) But the phrase *ἐμβάλλω (ἐμβαλῶ) εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σειῶν* in G is very obviously a paraphrase and is not recognized either in Romans or Second Peter. Because it belongs to interpretation it does not point to a different Hebrew text apart from the question of tense. (5) This conclusion carries with it the rejection of the resumptive phrase *εἰς τὰ θεμέλια αὐτῆς* in verse c. Though this phrase relieves somewhat the suspicious sequence of constructs, it involves in its turn a resumptive construction most unlikely in Hebrew and which in G itself is only clarified by the clearly secondary *αὐτῆς*. This addition, made necessary by the interpretation of the clause as a resumption, shows that this interpretation is itself secondary. (6) If *ἐκλεκτόν* is adopted as G's original reading, it probably



vouches for the present consonantal group אבן בהן. (7) The doubts already entertained of the reading לא יחיש are confirmed by the fact that G either reads another word here or at least feels it necessary to depart from the regular meaning of יחיש in Hebrew. (8) The addition of ἐπ' αὐτῷ in N, A, Q, N.T., and Barnabas may safely be rejected as belonging to interpretation. If it were a part of the original text it would be impossible to account for its omission in H and B. On the other hand its insertion can be very easily understood (see below). Accordingly, the external evidence of the versions, especially G, compels us to modify the present text of H only slightly. It may now be read: [?] וְהָיָה יֵסֶד בְּצִיּוֹן אֲבֵן בְּהֶן פֶּנֶת יִקְרָה [?] מוֹסַד הַמַּאֲבֵן לֹא יִחִישׁ. This text requires the correction of only the first of the three main ideas which we have seen were expressed by H (the stone is being laid in the present or to be laid in the future); it leaves unaffected the other two thoughts, viz., the trustworthiness of the stone, still expressed by בהן though not by the reduplication of מוֹסַד, and the advantage of faith. But the form of the text thus established is by no means convincing. We are still left with the adjective בִּהְיֶה, the anomalous series of constructs, and the very doubtful לא יחיש. Furthermore, at one point an exegetical question of considerable perplexity is involved in this text. What is the relationship of the last clause in which the advantage of faith is expressed to the rest of the verse? The reference in verse *d* seems to be to the exercise of faith in the absolute sense—"the one who believes shall not be. . . ." That is, the promise seems to be made to one who is possessed of a certain quality of faith rather than to one who exercises his gift of faith in a certain definite and concrete direction. On the other hand, the fact that the reference to the stone and to the act of faith are thus coupled together in one verse suggests that the intention is to refer, not to faith in general and in the abstract, but to faith in the stone in particular. This inference is further confirmed by the emphasis in the present form of the text upon the stone's reliability; it is a suitable object for faith to exercise itself upon. This almost instinctive view of the relationship between faith and the stone is verbally expressed in the addition of ἐπ' αὐτῷ. But then the question arises, why was not this relationship formally expressed in the original text?



And if faith in the stone is what the writer had in mind, still another question presses for solution. What is the stone, confidence in which involves a certain advantage? At this point we arrive at the fundamental difficulty of the verse and at the same time pass from the purely objective text-critical questions to the questions of exegesis and criticism. At the outset we are met with a startling fact. There is not a hint in verse 16 when taken by itself to enable us to determine what the stone is. It remains, therefore, to consult the context. Does that throw any light upon our problem?

## II. EXAMINATION OF THE CONTEXT

### A. THE GENERAL CONTEXT

Verse 16 stands in a section of chapter xxviii which runs from verse 14 through verse 19. It is addressed to the mockers,<sup>1</sup> אֲנָשִׁי לִצְרוֹן, a possible allusion to the drunkards in the preceding section who are represented as ridiculing Isaiah. These persons live in Jerusalem.

They are also described as בְּשָׁלִי הַזֶּה הָיוּ. Most modern Christian interpreters take בְּשָׁלִי in its usual meaning of "rulers" and regard the relative clause, "which are in Jerusalem," as defining "this people." But such a description of the people would be unique and quite unnecessary. (Duhm inclines to omit the relative clause.) The opinion of Raschi and Abenezra followed by Barth (*Beiträge*

<sup>1</sup> This section appears to be connected with what precedes through the לִכֶּן of vs. 14. But the exact significance of the word at this point has been disputed. Does it indicate a specific and organic connection with what precedes (cf. especially Hitzig and Meinhold) or is it used in a more generalized sense and rather as a transitional particle (Dillmann and Ewald)? Is it due to a later revision of his prophecies by Isaiah himself (Duhm, Marti) or to someone else (Brückner, Schmidt, Löhr)? Fortunately the settlement of these questions is not necessary to our immediate purpose. It is sufficient to recognize that a new paragraph begins at vs. 14, and that, whether organically connected with what precedes or not, it probably comes out of the same time and circumstances. Again, it is of little moment whether vss. 20-22 be regarded as the original continuation of vss. 14-19. From a literary point of view vss. 20-22 appear to be quite distinct from vss. 14-19. On the other hand, they enforce the main lesson of the preceding section in a most powerful way. The question of the originality of their connection with what precedes would be important only on the supposition that they contained an element of hope. This cannot be admitted for a moment. The strange and barbarous work of vs. 21 is the fact that Yahweh who once gave to his people such a glorious victory over its enemies in the days of David is now ready to destroy it. When Meinhold (*STK*, 1893, pp. 37 ff.) and Guthe (*Jesaja*, p. 56) find an element of hope in vs. 21 because of this allusion to David's victory, they misapprehend one of the most dramatically effective of all Isaiah's attacks upon the false sense of security and spurious patriotism of the nation.



zur *Eklärung des Jesaja*, p. 23) and Ehrlich, which explains *בְּשֵׁלִי* after the analogy of Num. 21:27; Ezek. 16:44; 18:22 and regards the relative clause as defining *בְּשֵׁלִי*, is more probable. The allusion is then to the wits and sophists that live in the capital (cf. 5:19–21) and the phrase would be in parallelism with *אֲנֹכִי לְצֹרֶךְ*. It may even more specifically refer to the false prophets who composed war odes encouraging in the people a false sense of security (cf. Gray at Num. 21:27 and especially Hölscher, *Die Profeten*, p. 91, on the same passage). This view agrees admirably with what follows. The fact that the prophet is contending in this passage with his outspoken opponents in the capital must be carefully borne in mind.

#### B. ON VERSE 15

Verse 15 is the grammatical protasis to the apodosis introduced by the "therefore" verse 16. In this protasis two thoughts are found: (a) the assurance which the mockers and the sophists addressed in verse 14 have that they will be exempt from harm (verse 15a) and (b) the reason for this assurance (verse 15b).<sup>1</sup> Both thoughts are expressed in figurative and somewhat puzzling language. The nature of the harm that threatens them is not precisely indicated but is also described in figurative language as "the overflowing scourge."<sup>2</sup> Yet so far as I know it is questioned by no one that the allusion is to Assyria. The imperialistic ambitions of that monarchy were the source of imminent danger to Judah and to the Westland generally throughout the lifetime of Isaiah. The fuller description in verses 18 and 19, where the ceaselessness of the invasions is emphasized, can only be satisfactorily explained by the long series of Assyrian expeditions to which the West had been subjected for upward

<sup>1</sup> The two *כִּי* clauses are not parallel, but the second is subordinate to the first as is correctly indicated in R.V. by its "because . . . for."

<sup>2</sup> The mixture of metaphor in the phrase *שֹׁרֵט שֹׁרֵט* has given offense. But Duhm's emendation to *שֹׁרֵט שֹׁרֵט*, variously translated by "the scourging scourge" (Duhm) or "the scourge of the scourger" (Martí), is illegitimate, as the verb from which *שֹׁרֵט* is supposed to come does not mean "to scourge." Gesenius pointed out that this identical mixed metaphor is found in the Koran, sura 89:12. It is possible that the picture had faded out of *שֹׁרֵט* just as it has faded out of our "scourge." But Barth (*ZATW*, 1913, p. 306) has shown that *שֹׁרֵט* both here and in the Koran passage is probably to be referred to another root, also found in the Ethiopic, which means a "flood." In that case no emendation is necessary. *שֹׁרֵט* is found but once again in Isaiah (10:26) and there clearly in the sense of scourge. But the passage is almost certainly secondary. Isaiah's words for this idea are *שֹׁרֵט* and *מִשָּׁה* (10:5, 15; 14:29); cf. also for *שֹׁבֵט* 9:3; 10:24; 30:31 (all doubtful passages).



of a century and a half and which were now culminating in the great campaigns of Tiglath-pileser and Sargon in Isaiah's own day. The adjective employed, "overflowing," as well as the possible interpretation of שָׁרַח as "flood," confirms the view that Isaiah had the great empire of the Tigris and Euphrates in mind in this passage as he did where a similar metaphor is employed at 8:5-8.

a) The confidence of the speakers that Assyria will not harm them is expressed by the statement—"We have made a covenant with death and with Sheol we are at agreement" (R.V.). This statement has been interpreted in three ways. (1) As a metaphorical expression for Assyria.<sup>1</sup> This view may safely be rejected. The covenant is made against Assyria, not with Assyria. (2) As a figurative expression for destruction generally (cf. 5:14). The mockers arrogantly claim that they have seen to it that no harm will come to them. They are in alliance with death and hell themselves. A very fitting expression to put into the mouths of the proud leaders at the capital!<sup>2</sup> (3) The phrase is to be taken literally and refers to the sacrifices to the gods of the underworld, the deities of the dead. The leaders believe they have secured themselves by resort to magic and necromancy.<sup>3</sup> For this last view Duhm urges its greater naturalness, which may be doubted, and the admittedly peculiar word הָיָה (spelled הָיָה in verse 18). This word, it is claimed, cannot mean a covenant with men as בְּרִית does. It refers, rather, to the fact that they have cited a dead person or the god of the dead himself to appear and *with his appearance have made a compact*. Duhm wishes to do justice to what has been supposed to be the root meaning of the word הָיָה. But this very forced interpretation of the word in this connection has been rendered quite unnecessary by Professor Montgomery's illuminating comment on it.<sup>4</sup> In line with Professor Jastrow's article on רָאָה and הָיָה,<sup>5</sup> in which it is shown that both words were originally synonyms of the Babylonian *barû* priest and

<sup>1</sup> So Robertson Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, p. 244, and Guthe, *Zukunftsbild des Jesaja*, pp. 15, 46, though Guthe subsequently abandoned this view.

<sup>2</sup> So commentators generally; for an analogous figure cf. Hos. 2:18; Job 5:23.

<sup>3</sup> So Duhm who refers to Isa. 2:6 ff.; 3:8; 17:10, 11; 29:4; 8:19, and also to the fact that at this time Judah was intriguing with Egypt in which the Isis-Isiris cult predominated.

<sup>4</sup> *JBL*, 1912, pp. 142 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1909, p. 42.



did not refer to the vision of future things but to the observation of the auspices, Professor Montgomery suggests that just as ברית (probably to be etymologically connected with *barû* = ראה) gets its significance of "treaty" from the omens observed in connection with its making, so חזרה (to be pointed חִזְרָה) derives its meaning of "pact" or "agreement" in exactly the same way and thus confirms the derivation of ברית from *barû*.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly there is no sound exegetical or philological basis for Duhm's view that the phrase by which the mockers' confidence is expressed must be taken literally. It may just as well be interpreted metaphorically as a very vigorous way of expressing their confidence that no harm will come to them. This latter view is decidedly favored by the interpretation of the next clause.

b) In verse 15b the reason for the confidence is expressed—"For we have made lies our refuge and in deceit we have hidden ourselves." It is of course obvious that the leaders did not express themselves in this way. It is only from Isaiah's point of view that the basis of their assurance can be called a lie and a deceit. What, then, in Isaiah's judgment is the false basis of their confidence? According to Duhm the lies and deceit are again interpreted religiously and referred to the magic and necromancy mentioned in verse 15a. But this is to merge verse 15a and verse 15b together in an improper way and to confuse the grounds of the confidence with the expression of the confidence.<sup>2</sup> The usual interpretation has been to explain the lies and deceit in a political sense of the intrigues with Egypt against Assyria.<sup>3</sup> Thus lies and deceit are interpreted, so to speak,

<sup>1</sup> Duhm admits this explanation of ברית but denies it for חזרה. But he appears to be unfamiliar with Jastrow's and Montgomery's discussions. Their contributions render the earlier attempts to explain how חזרה comes to be the synonym of ברית in the present passage *passé*. Gesenius' series of philological emanations—"Revelation, law, covenant, so far as these merge into each other"—is properly ridiculed by Duhm. Knobel inclines either to adopt the sequence "see, distinguish, define" (cf. Exod. 18:21) in order to explain the meaning of חזרה, or to relate it to the root חָזַח, "to cut," from which the idea of decision, purpose, plan, is supposed to be derived. Hitzig gives us the sequence "Vision, consultation of oracles, covenant," inasmuch as oracles of prophets were consulted in the making of treaties. This is along the right lines. Ewald saw an allusion in the passage to "the black arts," which may have given the hint to Duhm for his elaborations.

<sup>2</sup> Hence Duhm is not to be permitted to find in vs. 15b a support for his view of vs. 15a as he attempts to do.

<sup>3</sup> So Hitz., Ew., De., Dl., Hackmann, *Zukunftserwartung*, p. 100, and cf. especially 29:15 and 30:12 (emend to עֲקָשׁ).



subjectively, as a characterization of Judah's faithlessness in dealing with Assyria. But can their own faithlessness, even from Isaiah's point of view, be regarded as the basis of their confidence? This does not seem likely. There is still another possibility. The lie and deceit may characterize Egypt.<sup>1</sup> For this view may be urged verse 17b. The Assyrian flood is to destroy the lie and deceit. This can much better refer to the destruction of Egypt than to the destruction of their own treachery or of their religious rites.<sup>2</sup> Further the use of the singular *כִּזְב* and *טָקֶר* better suits a reference to Egypt. Finally and above all such a characterization of Egypt agrees closely with the prophet's other characterizations of the same land in the immediately contiguous passages; cf. 30:3, 5, 6, 7; 31:3. I conclude, therefore, that verse 15 means that the people regard themselves as absolutely secure, as though they had contracted with death and Sheol not to harm them, and that this feeling of security is based upon the Egyptian alliance, but is pronounced by Isaiah to be utterly delusive. This view does ample justice to the very remarkable expression in verse 15a, to the sharp distinction between the expression of confidence in verse 15a and the reason for it in verse 15b, and to the figurative expression in verse 15b, which is interpreted in agreement with the general historical background and with the general literary context of the passage.<sup>3</sup>

#### C. ON VERSES 16a, 17b-19

If verse 15 is the protasis, where is the apodosis? The *לִכֵּן* of verse 16 undoubtedly introduces it. In view of their wickedly misplaced confidence, *therefore*. . . .<sup>4</sup> After such a "therefore"

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be the view of Giesebrecht, *Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik*, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Verse 17b is thus an additional argument against Duhm's interpretation of the verse. Sellin, *Der Alttestamentliche Prophetismus*, p. 142, holds that vs. 17b refers to the dethronement of the gods by the great flood on the Day of Yahweh (vs. 15b also being interpreted as a reference to false gods). This mythologizing interpretation follows along the lines of the Gunkel-Gressmann method of interpretation which also sees in vss. 15 and 17 an allusion to an eschatological flood (cf. Gressmann, *Ursprung der Israelitisch-Jüdischen Eschatologie*, pp. 63 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> Ewald saw in the passage a double reference, first to faithlessness as seen in the Egyptian intrigue, and second to black arts. Marti and Schmidt adopt this double reference but elaborate the black arts along the line of Duhm's suggestions. But this seems to complicate the interpretation of the passage quite unnecessarily.

<sup>4</sup> The *לִכֵּן* of vs. 16 is not resumptive of the *לִכֵּן* in vs. 14 as some scholars have suggested (cf. Hitz., De., Meinhold, *STK*, 1893, p. 27) but very clearly answers to the *כִּי* of the protasis, vs. 15.



we expect doom. At verses 17b-19 we get it. Moreover the doom is expressed in just the way we would expect it to be expressed, with clear reference to verse 15. The very interesting relationship which exists between protasis and apodosis will appear in the following translation.<sup>1</sup>

## PROTASIS

vs. 15. Because ye said:

- 1) We have formed a covenant with Death,
- 2) And with Sheol we have made an agreement;
- 3) When the overwhelming flood<sup>a</sup> passes by,
- 4) It shall not come nigh us;
- 5) For we have made a lie our refuge,
- 6) And in deceit we have hidden ourselves;

## APODOSIS

vs. 16a. Therefore, thus saith the Lord, Yahweh:

- vs. 17b. 1) Hail shall sweep away your refuge of lies,  
 2) And the hiding-place (of deceit<sup>b</sup>) shall the waters overwhelm;
- vs. 18. 3) And annulled<sup>c</sup> shall be your covenant with Death,  
 4) And your agreement with Sheol shall not stand;  
 5) When the overwhelming flood passes by,  
 6) Ye shall be trampled down by it;<sup>d</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Notes on the text. (a) For "flood" instead of "scourge" see above. (b) Insert שָׁחַד after סֶחֶר with Lowth, Koppe, Hitz., Ew., Dl., Ehrlich. (c) Correct כָּפַר to חָפַר (cf. 8:10; Jer. 33:10) with Lowth, Kno., Du., Ch., Marti, Ehrlich. (d) The mixture of metaphor involved in שָׁחַד after שָׁחַד is probably to be allowed to remain. The word is used elsewhere by Isaiah with probable allusion to the Assyrian devastations, cf. 5:5; 7:25 (a passage isalanic in idea, though probably not original in its present form); 10:6. It is therefore not to be emended to מִיָּסָר as Du. suggests. Isaiah is no doubt thinking of the thing symbolized rather than the symbol at this point. (e) זָעַרָה does not refer to the feeling of terror but to that which inspires the feeling. Hence the paraphrase "awaken dismay." (Cf. Deut. 28:25; Jer. 15:4; 24:9; 29:18; 37:17; Ezek. 23:46; II Chron. 29:8.) In Deut. and Ezek. the spelling is slightly different (זָעַרָה). In all these late passages the word refers to the effect of the exile upon the nations. The sense in these passages seems to be somewhat weakened as compared with the necessary meaning in Isaiah. Possibly the difference of spelling in Deuteronomy and Ezekiel and the reading זָעַרָה in the Keri of the other passages is an attempt to differentiate the weaker from the stronger meaning. (f) Cf. שְׁמִיעָה is to be taken in the technical sense of "audition," i.e., the revelation to the prophet by voice rather than by eye (vision), as at vs. 9, and דְּבַר is to be taken causatively, "to interpret," as in the same verse (cf. Dan. 8:16, 27; 10:14). The passage means that it will be a tragic thing to do the work of a prophet in the terrible circumstances described in vs. 17b-19a. Duhm suggests that Isaiah has the false prophets especially in mind at vs. 19b. Instead of prophesying smooth things (30:10) they will be compelled to announce messages of doom, a necessity that may well cause them dismay.



- vs. 19. 1) As often as it passes by it shall seize you,  
 2) For morning by morning it shall pass by, by day and by night;  
 3) And it shall awaken nought but dismay<sup>e</sup> to interpret audition.<sup>f</sup>

The rhythm and the lines of the passage are uncertain. The former seems to be quite irregular. Yet in spite of this the thought is expressed with a high degree of poetic elaboration, in which chiasm plays a prominent part. This rhetorical figure is used to emphasize as forcibly as possible the dramatic contrasts between the fancies of Isaiah's hearers and the actualities of their situation. In verse 15, lines 1 and 2, observe the chiasm in the positions of Death and Sheol, and in lines 5 and 6 the way in which subject and predicate exchange places. Again in verses 17b-18 note the same effective contrast produced by the varying positions of the two phrases "refuge of lies" and "hiding-place of deceit" in lines 1 and 2, and the perfect chiasm in the arrangement of lines 3 and 4. But this is not all. The same chiastic arrangement not only exists within the lines of the protasis and apodosis taken separately, but between the protasis and apodosis when taken as rythmical units. The order of thought in the protasis is reversed in the apodosis:

Protasis: Covenant—Flood—Lie

Apodosis: Lie—Covenant—Flood

The interweaving of these chiasms so evidently constitutes the pattern of the passage that it is tempting to suggest that originally it was worked out even more exactly than in the present text, and that the reference to the flood in the protasis, lines 3 and 4, occupied either the first position, in which case the chiasm would be exact, or the last position, in which case the chiasm would not be quite so exact but the rhetorical power of the passage as a whole would be even more forcible.<sup>1</sup> But even though neither of these transpositions is adopted the fact remains that protasis and apodosis lock into a very firm rhetorical unity. The importance of this fact, which seems to have been overlooked by commentators, will appear in the sequel.

<sup>1</sup> The order of thought in the apodosis, in which the reference to the flood stands last, must be original since only in that case can vs. 19 attach naturally to vs. 18. If any change of position is to be made it must be in vs. 15, lines 3 and 4.



## D. ON VERSE 17a

A final question must be raised as to the meaning of the immediate context of verse 16. What is the connection and significance of verse 17a? Is this to be taken with verse 16 and interpreted as a promise or is it to be taken with what follows and interpreted as a threat? Commentators are divided in their answer to this question.<sup>1</sup> On the one hand some connect the clause with verse 16 and interpret it of further building operations; verse 16 refers to the cornerstone and verse 17a to the superstructure built up in equity and righteousness. Others connect it with what follows and take equity and righteousness to be the standards by which the people are to be tried; tested by these standards they will be found wanting, and therefore the succeeding warning is added. Curiously enough the figure of the measuring-line is found elsewhere both as a symbol of construction and of destruction. It is used to denote the latter at II Kings 21:13; Isa. 34:11; and Lam. 2:8. In the first of these passages "line" and "plummet" are parallel as at Isa. 28:16, and it is the only passage outside of our present one in which *שקל* is again found in the Old Testament. On the other hand the line denotes the process of construction at Jer. 31:39; Zech. 1:16a; and Job 38:5 f. In Job, furthermore, the line and the cornerstone are immediately connected. Thus the use of the figure elsewhere cannot determine its meaning here. Nowhere else, however, is the measuring-line spiritualized as here into a symbol of a moral standard. In the present instance it seems to be safer to associate verse 17a with what precedes and to interpret it as a promise. The figure of building operations in verse 16 is carried on, at least to some extent, in verse 17a, whereas there is no reference to this figure at all in verses 17b-19. Again, the ideas of equity and righteousness naturally attach themselves to the idea of faith in verse 16. On the other hand the connection between equity and righteousness as the standards and lies and deceit as the things to be judged by them is rather vague. In a passage in which the ideas of faithlessness and insubstantiality are so prominent and where the contrasts are so precisely drawn, we would expect in verse 17a a reference to some such qualities

<sup>1</sup> Promise: Gesenius, Bredenkamp, Barth, Du., Marti, Skinner (?), Whitehouse. Threat: Hiltz, Ew., Kno., De., Che., Di.



as אֱמֶת and יָשָׁר as standards rather than to "equity" and "righteousness." Yet it must be admitted that if verse 17a is not to be taken with what follows, the thought in verse 16 and 17a, especially in verse 17a, is left incomplete. Can verse 17a be a kind of connecting link between verse 16 and verse 17b? But if so is it an *original* connecting link? Its rather vague and generalized formulation stands in marked contrast with the sharp definition of verses 15 and 17b-19. Moreover, the apparent antithesis between verse 17a and the lies and deceit of verse 15, even though, as we have just seen, it is not very precisely expressed, tends to suggest that the lies and deceit characterize the Jewish rulers rather than Egypt. In that case are we to revise our exegesis of verse 15 or *are we to yield to doubts as to verse 17a?* One thing may be regarded as certain. If verse 17a stood by itself it would mar the rhetorical pattern which we saw was so thoroughly worked into the protasis verse 15 and the apodosis verse 16a, verses 17b-18. This confirms the view that the real premise of this clause is verse 16, and its critical connection is with that verse whatever its exegetical connection may be.<sup>1</sup>

Having examined in detail the text and the context of verse 16 it remains to identify if possible the stone. Let us review precisely the conditions which must be reckoned with in any attempt to solve this problem. At the outset, we are confronted by two remarkable and rather disconcerting facts: (1) The verse itself does not tell us what the stone is. It is anything but self-explanatory. (2) The context is equally non-committal. (3) To these may be added a third fact; nowhere else in Isaiah is the stone again referred to. (4) Again, no interpretation of the stone can be regarded as completely satisfactory which does not do justice to the special description of it in verse 16. (a) It is not yet laid. (b) It is to be laid in Zion. (c) It is a tried stone. (d) It is a precious stone (a jewel?). (e) It is the cornerstone of the foundation. (f) The relationship of verse 1 to the remainder of the verse must be satisfactorily explained. (5) If the verse is original there is a final condition of great importance which must be satisfied. The inter-

<sup>1</sup> Duhm feels that vs. 17a is an "Anhang," but he does not give his reasons for this feeling. The clause is probably in the 3 × 2 rhythm.



pretation of verse 16 based upon the identification of the stone must agree with Isaiah's teachings elsewhere. With these conditions in mind we are prepared to take the next step and examine the identifications of the stone and the consequent interpretations of the passage which have been already offered.

### III. THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE STONE—EXEGETICAL SOLUTIONS

Practically all commentators who hold to the originality of verse 16 in the present connection see in it and correctly see in it an antithesis to verse 15. Over against the false grounds of confidence expressed in verse 15 which Isaiah repudiates, he seeks to establish the true grounds of confidence. But if we take the prophet's teachings elsewhere into consideration, a true basis of confidence cannot be anything merely human or material. It must be essentially spiritual, divine. These are the premises which underlie all but the first of the explanations of the stone that follow.

#### A. THE STONE IS HEZEKIAH

This identification was suggested by Ibn Ezra and Kimchi, and maintained by Gesenius. This theory violates the fundamental premise just mentioned. Hezekiah was a man of weak character in spite of his reforms. He was dominated throughout his life by the pro-Egyptian party at the court to whom Isaiah was consistently opposed. It is unthinkable that the prophet would have exhorted to confidence in him, or, for that matter, in any mere man, as opposed to confidence in Egypt or in false religion. As a matter of fact this theory has found no favor with modern commentators.

#### B. THE STONE IS JERUSALEM

This is the theory of Hitzig and Knobel.<sup>1</sup> It construes the **ב** in the phrase **בַּצִּיּוֹן** as the **ב** *essentiae* and it is thus the only theory which permits of an identification of the stone by a strictly exegetical process. The **ב** is given the force of the French *en* or the English "in" in such a phrase as "to find in him a friend," and accordingly "to lay in Zion a stone" is said to imply that Zion itself is the stone.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Robertson Smith, *Prophets*, p. 284.



The passage is then connected with 14:32 (cf. Zech. 12:3 where Zion is called a stone). But Hitzig admits that Isaiah would never have taught that faith in Zion itself was legitimate. Hence he detaches clause *d* in a measure from the rest of the verse and sees in it a reference to faith in the absolute sense, faith in Yahweh, not to faith in the stone. It is Yahweh who has established Zion as an immovable rock and he will save it.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately the grammatical construction of  $\square$  upon which Hitzig's interpretation is based is open to the gravest suspicion. The only other passage which can be fairly urged as analogous is 26:4, but the text of that passage is quite uncertain.<sup>2</sup>

#### C. THE STONE IS THE TEMPLE OR ES-SAKHRA

If the stone is not Jerusalem itself, may it not be the temple in Jerusalem? This is the view of Ewald who associates with verse 16 not only 14:32 (cf. Hitzig) but also 8:14 and 29:1-8. But the temple itself, he tells us, is only "the symbol of the Yahweh religion." Again he says: "Yahweh has set up another stone, the temple in Zion, and faith in the true God who is honored in it; so that one can say: he who holds fast (to this eternal one, i.e., believes) will not flee." This formulation is not altogether satisfactory. It is expressed almost as if the temple and faith and Yahweh were equally the stone. What Ewald really means is that faith in the temple is equivalent to faith in Yahweh who is manifested in the temple. Cheyne has an interesting variation upon Ewald's view. He has been accused of being guilty of the logical absurdity of identifying the stone with Yahweh himself who lays the stone. This is probably not the case, though his language at first sight certainly suggests it.

<sup>1</sup> Knobel sees a difficulty at this point. If Zion is to be saved how are the sinners in Zion, Isaiah's opponents, to be destroyed, as they evidently are to be according to the context? Knobel suggests that they will leave the refuge of the capital at the time of the Assyrian invasion in order to defend the various fortresses of the land! According to R. Smith faith in the inviolability of Zion is equivalent to faith in the continuity of the Yahweh religion. It would seem that on this view the preservation of the city is a guaranty of the continued existence of the Yahweh religion.

<sup>2</sup> There seems to be a clear case of dittography in the verse,  $\square$  כִּי־בֵרֶךְ, cf. G. The doubtfulness of the passage is recognized by Graetz, Du., Che., Marti, Gray, Ehrlich, *inter al.* The other passages which have been regarded as analogous (cf. Delitzsch) are Ps. 68:5 and 55:19. These are indeed instances of  $\square$  *essentiae* if the text may be trusted, but with the predicate, not with the subject. The  $\square$  *essentiae* with the predicate is of course a well-recognized construction. But its construction with the subject as required by Hitzig's view is a different matter. It should be noted, however, that  $\square$  after  $\square$  denoting locality is also unique; still the expression is a perfectly natural one.



He calls attention to the fact that elsewhere Yahweh is called the Rock of Israel (30:29) or the Stone of Stumbling (8:14) and concludes: "Yahweh must then be meant here." This would seem to identify the stone with Yahweh. But he continues: "It is not said 'he who believes on the stone shall not give way,' but simply 'he who believeth'—now the object of absolute faith can be but one, Jehovah." This statement logically implies that Yahweh is to be differentiated from the stone. Otherwise belief in the one would be identical with belief in the other. Further along Cheyne suggests that the stone may be "the foundation stone of the temple in the solid rock (from which the mosque called *kubbet es-sakhra* or dome of the rock derives its name) and which might be regarded as a type of the unchangeableness of that temple's God." In other words, according to Cheyne the rock stands for the temple (this is his variation upon Ewald) and the temple for the God who dwells in it.<sup>1</sup> But there is no question but that both Ewald's and Cheyne's modes of expressing themselves are somewhat confusing. The reason for this probably lies in the fact that whereas they seek something objective with which to identify the stone, either the temple or the temple rock, they take pains to distinguish faith in Yahweh from faith in this objective symbol of Yahweh. In other words, they labor to disconnect as Hitzig did clause *d* as an expression of absolute faith (in Yahweh) from faith in the stone.<sup>2</sup>

#### D. THE STONE IS YAHWEH'S PLAN OR UNSEEN WORK, OR HIS RELATIONSHIP TO ISRAEL

Ewald's and Cheyne's attempts to spiritualize verse 16 are carried still farther in the interpretations of Dillmann and Duhm. These scholars seek to avoid identifying the stone with anything objective whatever, even though the object may have only a symbolic and spiritual value.

<sup>1</sup> This explanation of the stone had occurred to me before I found it in Cheyne. It certainly makes a picturesque appeal.

<sup>2</sup> Giesebrecht's interpretation seems to follow along the line of Hitzig's, Ewald's, and Cheyne's, though he does not elaborate it sufficiently to enable us to tell just how he understands the various details. He says: "Faith, that is confidence in the unseen God who has revealed himself in Jerusalem, must stand over against confidence in the creature as at 7:9; 31:1 f.; only then a proper antithesis [to vs. 15] is found" (*Beiträge*, p. 61). In this sentence the unseen God is opposed to the creature as the stone in vs. 16 is opposed to the lies in vs. 15. But it is the God who is revealed in Jerusalem, and Jerusalem is no doubt equivalent to the temple. But on p. 65 Giesebrecht seems to identify Jerusalem with the Remnant (see below).



1. According to Dillmann verses 16–17a refer to God's plan as a whole, its foundation and its superstructure. The foundation stone is not anything visible, but something which can only be apprehended by faith. "In Zion where Yahweh dwells is the centre, the crystallization point of his kingdom, or, as it is expressed in this passage, the foundation stone of his building on which he builds *still farther . . .* or briefly the work of God begun here [i.e., in Zion]. Because Isaiah *believes on this unseen work of God* (cf. verses 21; 10:12; 5:12) he is certain that Zion will not be swept away in the Assyrian storm.<sup>1</sup> Therefore he adds 'He who has a believing confidence *in this work* will not need to hasten.' " In this formulation the stone is unquestionably identified with the work of God which is being wrought out in Jerusalem, and verse *d* is closely connected with the rest of the verse. It does not refer to faith in the absolute sense but faith in the particular work of God, i.e., faith in the stone. At least that seems to be the implication of Dillmann's words.

2. Duhm's interpretation, so far as the identification of the stone is concerned, does not differ essentially from Dillmann's. "The cornerstone of the foundation is Yahweh's relationship to his people whose head is Zion (7:8 f.), a relationship which is objectively as little visible as the foundation, yet nevertheless guarantees the security of Zion (31:9). A cornerstone can be seen if it is not at the same time the cornerstone of the foundation. This last word emphasizes its invisibility. Hence the continuation: He who believes yields not."<sup>2</sup>

Duhm's definition of the stone as Yahweh's relationship to Israel and Dillmann's definition of it as Yahweh's plan or work in Jerusalem mean practically the same thing. Both scholars also deduce the inviolability of Zion from the passage as a religious necessity. Dillmann's emphasis upon the plan or work of God enables him to take advantage of the possible relationship of verse 17a to verse 16 and

<sup>1</sup> The connection of Yahweh's work with Zion is thus preserved and the thought of its impregnability because of its religious significance expressed. But Zion is clearly not the stone; it is only the place where the stone is laid.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Duhm takes advantage of the deletion of the second מִיֶּסֶד to emphasize the invisibility rather than the reliability of the stone. But is this the real purpose of the passage?



to bring out the different stages in the development of the plan—foundation and superstructure—more precisely than Duhm does. Whether it is not at the same time also brought out more precisely than the text itself warrants is a fair question. On the other hand Duhm seeks to connect the last clause of the verse ingeniously with the rest of the verse through his greater emphasis upon the invisibility of Yahweh's relationship. The invisibility of this relationship calls for the exercise of faith. Verse *d* is accordingly again taken in an absolute sense and connected with Isaiah's doctrine of faith elsewhere (cf. 7:9).<sup>1</sup>

#### E. THE STONE IS FAITH

The spiritualizing interpretation of the passage reaches its culmination in the theory of Hackmann and Marti which identifies the stone with faith itself. Thus Hackmann says: "Ye have made your alliance with Egypt your support . . . Yahweh, on the other hand, makes trust in him the basis."<sup>2</sup> According to Marti, "The prophet contrasts the true faith with the delusion and superstition of verse 15. 'He who believes fails not' is the precious cornerstone. Faith, which is hidden and invisible, as the cornerstone of the foundation yet supports everything."<sup>3</sup> Confidence in Yahweh is the fixed basis which does not yield. He who has faith, he who stands in this inner relationship with Yahweh possesses the *dōs μοι ποῦ στῶ* in order that he may not yield. It is the same foundation which Isaiah had already named to Ahaz (7:9). It is neither Zion nor the temple in Zion."<sup>4</sup> It should be noted that Marti is the first of the commentators whose opinions have been thus far reviewed who holds that the stone is yet to be laid.

#### F. THE STONE IS THE REMNANT

Meinhold returns to the interpretation of the stone as an objective reality, but strikes out along an entirely new line<sup>5</sup> The fact that it

<sup>1</sup> When Volz, *Vorexilische Jahweprophetie*, p. 41, identifies the stone with Yahweh's help in opposition to all external means as at 8:6 f., he seems to mean about the same thing as Dillmann and Duhm do.

<sup>2</sup> *Zukunftserwartung des Jesaja*, p. 100, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Duhm above.

<sup>4</sup> Hölscher also inclines to the identification of the stone with faith (*Die Propheten*, pp. 240 f.) but he does not go into the details of the interpretation.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *STK*, 1893, pp. 1 ff., and *Der heilige Rest*, pp. 131 ff.



is a tried or proved stone suggests to him that it is already in existence though the employment of it in the foundation belongs to the future (נִסָּן a participle, not a preterite). The stone is to be identified with Isaiah's disciples who had been found trustworthy (tried) in the difficult experiences through which they had already passed. "Accordingly God can preserve this little congregation (he who believes will not flee) in the general catastrophe. It will then become the foundation stone for the new structure." Verse 16*d* would appear to be taken both as a characterization of the Remnant and at the same time as a promise to it. The Remnant will believe, i.e., will be characterized as a body of believers, and because of this fact it will be preserved. Thus faith in verse 16*d* is again taken as absolute faith, not faith in the stone. It is also to be noticed that Meinhold expressly identifies the stone with the empirical group of Isaiah's disciples already in existence (pp. 134 ff.), though its development into the ideal Remnant belongs to the future.<sup>1</sup>

#### G. THE STONE IS INTERPRETED MESSIANICALLY

In line with the identifications of the stone with some objective reality we have next to notice the more or less specifically messianic interpretations. (1) Thus Delitzsch identifies the stone with the Davidic dynasty, "yet not as an establishment in itself, but with reference to the fact that it will abide forever and accordingly thought of in connection with the promised occupant of the kingship of which the prophet prophesied in 7:14; 9:1 ff.; 11:1 ff."<sup>2</sup> (2) Orelli interprets the stone still more vaguely as the messianic deliverance consummated in Jesus Christ. If the qualifying phrase "consummated in Jesus Christ" is omitted, Orelli's view will shade off very easily into the views of Dillmann, Duhm, and Volz, and the flinty rock will be pulverized again into intangibility.<sup>3</sup> (3) It

<sup>1</sup> When Giesebrecht suggests the identification of the stone with the Remnant he has an altogether different meaning in mind. The Remnant for him is Jerusalem (see above p. 21).

<sup>2</sup> Curiously enough Delitzsch combines his messianic interpretation with the view that נִסָּן is preterite. "That which realizes itself historically has an eternal and already antecedent reality"(!). By this is meant that the stone as the personal Messiah is already laid in the Davidic dynasty which thus in turn itself comes to have messianic significance.

<sup>3</sup> Orelli also holds to the preterite construction of נִסָּן. The stone was laid in the Davidic period but the superstructure was completed in Jesus.



remained for Bredenkamp to revive the most ancient interpretation preserved in the Targum<sup>1</sup> and the New Testament and to identify the stone with the Messiah himself. The supposition that Isaiah could have exhorted to trust in Zion (Jerusalem) or in the temple is rejected. As Yahweh was compared to a rock in 8:14 so here, it is argued, the stone probably represents a person. And because the Messiah belongs to the future (מָשִׁיחַ a participle), "therefore faith is demanded." Not the stone as already laid but faith in the stone to be laid is the anchor of salvation for the future. The connection which Duhm seeks to establish between clause *d* and the preceding clauses by attaching faith to the idea of the invisibility of the stone, Bredenkamp secures by connecting faith with the promise of the stone to be realized in the future.

#### H. MIXED IDENTIFICATIONS OF THE STONE

Finally there remain to be noticed several interpretations which appear to combine various elements out of the interpretations already given. 1. Skinner seems to waver between Duhm's view and a modification of Meinhold's interpretation. In the Introduction to his valuable commentary on Isaiah in the *Cambridge Bible* (p. lxviii) he says: "Jehovah has laid in Zion a foundation stone bearing the inscription 'He that believeth shall not be ashamed.' In the coming deluge . . . Zion alone will be safe. Here the ideal and the material lie very close together. The stone is obviously the symbol of the Remnant—the foundation already laid of a spiritual community to be built up after the judgment." In this formulation Skinner would seem to agree completely with Meinhold. But in the body of the commentary Skinner expresses himself more after the manner of Duhm. "The general idea is that Jehovah's relation to Israel is the stable and permanent though invisible foundation of all God's work in the world. It is the positive counterpart of 8:14. The stone of stumbling and the cornerstone represent the negative

<sup>1</sup> "Behold I will establish in Zion a king, a king mighty and strong and terrible. I will confirm him and will strengthen him saith the Prophet. But the just who believe these things, when tribulation comes shall not be disturbed." It is true that the present editions of the Targum do not specifically identify the king with the Messiah but there can be no real question that the Messiah was meant and in Raymund Martini's *Pugio fidei*, II, 5, a text of the Targum is given in which the king is identified with the Messiah. The text, however, in Raymund is open to serious doubt (cf. Vitringa).



and the positive aspects of the spiritual truth, viz., that the purpose of God as embodied in revelation in the life of Israel [cf. Dillmann's plan of God] is the one element of human history which is indestructible. On this foundation will be built the religious community of the future, the new Israel, composed of the Remnant who shall turn and be saved. The stone, therefore, is not empirical Zion, nor is the idea expressed the impregnability of Jerusalem. The prophet's thought still moves in the region of religious symbolism; it has not yet crystallized into the doctrine of the impregnability of Jerusalem." In this passage the stone does not seem to be so much the Remnant as the foundation upon which the Remnant is to be built in the future, namely, God's relation to Israel. If we take the two citations just given together it may be said that Skinner seeks to modulate Duhm's interpretation, in which the thought of the Remnant is ignored, into harmony with Meinhold's in which the Remnant idea is the main theme.

2. Guthe and Schmidt, on the other hand, seek a solution of the passage which is in effect a synthesis of the views of Meinhold and Marti. "The foundation," says Guthe, "is described by the words 'he who believes shall not yield'; this is the surprising interpretation of the figurative language [i.e., verse 16*d* is the interpretation of clauses 16*a* and *b*]. We recognize, now, in the building a community of men, in the single stones [nothing is said about them!] persons who believe. This statement has for Isaiah the same meaning as 7:9." The allegory of the passage suggested by Guthe is elaborated more fully by Schmidt. "Only one place will remain in this flood, the Mount Zion in Jerusalem [observe the distinction between temple mount and city]. Why? Because there has been laid upon it the foundation stone for a building which shall be completed after the judgment. The builder is God; his tool is righteousness. The foundation stone carries the inscription, 'He who believes will not be put to shame.' What does this mean? It is certain that the building is a figurative expression for a human society, for a multitude of the saved, for the Remnant that returns. . . . The inscription upon the foundation stone will be the watchword by which the saved will recognize themselves, the foundation command of religion in the new order." These statements of Guthe and Schmidt would



seem quite clearly to imply that they regard faith as the stone (Marti) and the Remnant as the building which is built upon it (a variation upon Meinhold). In any case the Remnant idea is as prominent in these interpretations as faith. Both writers take advantage of verse 17a to emphasize the building (the Remnant) as contrasted with the foundation stone (faith).<sup>1</sup> But is this a correct reflection of the emphasis in the text? Does verse 17a contain as sharply carved out a figure as verse 16? Guthe's and Schmidt's paraphrases would imply this, but is it true? Both scholars, it should also be noticed, find the indestructibility of Zion taught in the passage. Zion is inviolable because it is the site of the great structure of God, i.e., the Remnant.

#### IV. CRITICISM OF THE PRECEDING INTERPRETATIONS— EXEGETICAL OBJECTIONS

If the preceding interpretations are carefully examined several significant facts at once strike the attention. (1) In the first place we discover that there is absolutely no general agreement as to what is represented by the stone. Is it Jerusalem, or the temple, or es-sakhra, or the Remnant, or the Messiah, or Yahweh's plan for Israel, or his relationship to Israel, or Faith? An object which can be molded into such a variety of shapes partakes of the quality of clay in the hands of the exegetical potter rather than of a reliable stone. (2) In the second place we discover that the interpretations may be grouped into two main divisions according as they take the phrase *הַנִּבְנִי יֵסֶד* as referring to the past or future. The great majority of commentators still adhere to the preterite construction.<sup>2</sup> But it is noteworthy that none of them attempts to justify this construction exegetically except Duhm. He remarks: "If Yahweh were yet to lay the foundation stone, these men [i.e., the mockers in verses 14 f.] would be excused for holding to means of defense of their

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Dillmann above for the emphasis upon the two stages in the building process, foundation, and superstructure.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ges., Hitz., Kno., Ew., Di., Orelli, Gies., Guthe, *Zukunftsbild*, p. 13, Du., Ski., Schmidt, and even Delitzsch, who nevertheless interprets the passage messianically! See above p. 28. The construction of *יֵסֶד* as participle and future is represented by Bredekamp, Meinhold, Marti, Guthe, *Jesaja*, p. 54 (?), Ehrlich and, paradoxically, Cheyne, in spite of the fact that he suggests that Isalah has es-sakhra in mind! (Hackmann does not definitely express himself upon this point.)



own choosing." This can hardly be regarded as an adequate reason for adopting an anomalous grammatical construction.<sup>1</sup> In so far, therefore, as their interpretations depend upon the present vocalization of verse 16b they must come under suspicion. Yet it should also be noted that at only one point do the scholars who adopt this construction make any particular use of it in their interpretations. They urge it at times against the possibility of a specifically messianic interpretation of the passage.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand many who adhere to the preterite still manage to discover a reference to the future in the prophecy by emphasizing the *development* in the building process from its foundation which has been already laid to its superstructure which is to be completed in the future.<sup>3</sup> (3) Again the interpretations of 28:16 may be grouped according as they identify the stone with some objective reality, Jerusalem, the temple, es-sakhra, the Remnant, the Messiah, or transmute it into something entirely spiritual—Faith, or Yahweh's plan, or his relationship to Israel. (a) The antithetic relationship of verse 16 to its context distinctly favors the identification of the stone with something objectively definite and tangible. Over against the lies and deceit there is the stone. We have seen that the lies and deceit most probably stand for Egypt. We would therefore expect the stone to be something equally concrete. Why is it that the critics shy off from this natural inference as they do? Possibly because they fear that it will compromise the purity of Isaiah's doctrine of faith. He cannot be supposed to exhort to faith in anything that is not essentially spiritual. This sensitiveness to the demands of Isaiah's very spiritual conception of faith is altogether creditable, but even Duhm himself cites in this connection Isaiah's use of the waters of Shiloah (8:5-8) as a symbol of Yahweh's spiritual power. There is nothing to forbid the use of an objective reality to symbolize a spiritual truth in the present

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius says the context demands the past construction, but he does not tell us how it does this. Skinner says that the past construction is more "suitable." All other commentators who adopt the preterite seek only to justify the grammar of the present pointing.

<sup>2</sup> So especially Ges., Hitz., Kno., and Dillmann.

<sup>3</sup> For example, Duhm remarks: "Even though Yahweh can create an ideal condition first in the future, it goes without saying that for the antique mind the present furnishes a real basis for the future." That is, the ideal future which is yet to be is already laid in the past. It would be difficult to differentiate in principle this expedient of Duhm's from that of Delitzsch's cited above, p. 26.



case, but, on the contrary, both the context and Isaiah's own predilection for symbols very strongly suggest such a use. Accordingly, the purely spiritual identifications of the stone by Dillmann and Duhm do not answer very well the exegetical demands of the context.<sup>1</sup>

(b) The same objection holds against Marti's identification of the stone with faith. But in addition there is another objection to this interpretation of the strongest possible character. Marti would identify the stone with the *act* of faith. But the antithesis of verse 16 to the context requires that the stone be identified with the *object* of faith and not with the *act* of faith. Over against the false basis of confidence in verse 15 we expect the true basis of confidence to be pointed out in verse 16. We therefore conclude that the context makes strongly against those interpretations which do not see in the stone anything objective and tangible, and in favor of those interpretations which do. (c) In the latter case four possibilities present themselves. The stone may be either Zion (Jerusalem), or the temple (the Rock), or the Remnant, or the Messiah. In the first two cases, if we are to make this prophecy agree with Isaiah's doctrine of faith, Jerusalem or the temple must be construed figuratively as symbols of the religion of Yahweh. Belief in Jerusalem or the temple means belief in Yahweh as revealed in Jerusalem or the temple. If the stone is identified either with the Remnant or the Messiah, it is not proper to say that belief in the Remnant or the Messiah is symbolic of belief in Yahweh, but it must be supposed to be identical with such a belief. The identification of the stone with Jerusalem, however, is exegetically excluded, except on the basis of the grammatically dubious construction of the  $\text{בִּצְיֹן}$  in  $\text{בְּבִצְיֹן}$  as the  $\text{בִּ}$  *essentiae*. On the other hand the temple or the rock of the temple would seem to be excluded by the fact that the verse refers to the future. The stone is yet to be laid. Hence those who adopt this interpretation of the stone cling to the present pointing of verse 16b. There remain the two theories that the stone is either the Remnant or the Messiah. In order to obtain a point of view from which to judge of the relative merits of these two theories it will be necessary to notice still another point at which the interpretations

<sup>1</sup> Is Duhm's identification of the lies and deceit of vs. 15 with false religion an unconscious attempt to support his view that the stone refers to Yahweh's relationship to Israel, i.e., to true religion?



under review diverge. (4) The most of them see in verse 16*d* an expression of absolute faith.<sup>1</sup> This view undoubtedly agrees with the strict wording of the clause. On the other hand *the position of the verse in the present context* suggests the possibility of a slightly different shade of thought. Over against the lies there is the stone; over against the false confidence in lies we would expect a reference to faith in the stone. That such an expectation is not unwarranted is evidenced by the insertion of *ἐπ' αὐτῷ* in *ℳ*, *A*, and *Q*. The feeling which led to this insertion is exegetically correct. It is only when thus construed that verse 16*b* is organically connected with the remainder of the verse *in a way agreeable to the present context*. This conclusion is also supported by the description of the stone as tried or proved and as a stone of the foundation. Both of these qualifications suggest reliability, trustworthiness. Because the stone is trustworthy as contrasted with the lies and deceit, therefore faith *in it* is appropriate. To take faith in verse 16*d* in the absolute sense is to break down the connection between this clause and the preceding clauses of the verse *which is suggested by the antithesis of verse 16 to the context*. Accordingly the connection must be laboriously restored again in various ways, either by identifying faith in the absolute sense with the stone itself (Marti), or by regarding verse 16*d* as the characteristic of, and promise to, the Remnant which is represented by the stone (Meinhold), or as the inference which necessarily follows upon the thought of the invisibility of the stone—what cannot be seen must be apprehended by faith (Duhm). This last view is ingenious rather than convincing for it implies that the author of verse 16 wishes to emphasize the invisibility of the stone rather than its reliability, a very doubtful proposition. But if, in accordance with the context, we are to interpret the faith in verse 16*d* as faith in the stone rather than as faith in the absolute sense, the identification of the stone with the Remnant becomes somewhat less likely than its identification with the Messiah. It does not seem probable that Isaiah would encourage the Remnant to have faith *in itself*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hitzig, Duhm, and Marti most expressly.

<sup>2</sup> It is true that logically an individual member of the Remnant might be supposed to be encouraged to have faith in the Remnant just as an individual member of the church can be exhorted to have faith in the church. But historically it is very doubtful



Hence those who hold to the identification of the stone with the Remnant take verse 16*d* again in the absolute sense. But if the faith in verse 16*d* is interpreted as faith in the stone, then the messianic interpretation is to be preferred. Of the various forms of this interpretation the most specific yields the best sense. The stone is the personal Messiah. Those who place their hope in the Messiah will not be . . . . (?). Such a faith is equivalent to faith in Yahweh and need not be regarded as a degradation of the doctrine of faith. By a process of elimination, therefore, we arrive at the conclusion that the specifically Messianic interpretation has the exegetical probabilities in its favor. It is freely admitted that the argument by which other interpretations have been eliminated is by no means logically stringent and conclusive. If even one certain exegetical fact could be produced in favor of any of the rival identifications, it would go far to break through the somewhat gossamer argumentation which has thus far been spun out in order to exclude them. But no such determinative fact is forthcoming. All identifications of the stone, so far as the exegetical data are concerned, are equally guesses. It becomes then a question of balancing a number of very delicate possibilities against each other. It cannot be too often or too emphatically emphasized that, though we are dealing with what purports to be a most adequate stone for a foundation, it turns out to be a most inadequate basis for an exegetical construction.

Yet when all these concessions and qualifications are made it remains true that if purely exegetical arguments are relied upon, the ancient identification of the stone with the Messiah still remains the best guess. (a) It agrees better with the fact that the stone is to be laid in the future than any of the other theories. (b) It satisfies the demands of the context for an objective concrete reality. (c) It satisfies the demands of the context that faith is to be reposed in the stone. (d) To these arguments may be added another to which some

whether Isaiah would have expressed himself in such a way. The Remnant idea in Isaiah is as yet a very fluid conception. While it may well have been an integral part of the popular mythological dogma of the time, the ideas which Isaiah seems to have attached to it had not yet built themselves up into such a new dogmatic construction as that Isaiah would be likely to have made the Remnant the object of faith in the same way as a Christian theologian could at times make the church an object of faith.



weight may fairly be attached. The Messiah is most appropriately symbolized by the cornerstone, and that for the following reason. It is obvious in the first place that cornerstone (פִּנְיָה) is used in this passage in a figurative sense; verse 17*a* indicates this. But when used figuratively פִּנְיָה is regularly the figure for personal leaders. Compare Judg. 20:2; I Sam. 14:38; Isa. 19:13,<sup>1</sup> and especially in the two passages Zech. 10:4 and Ps. 118:22. Zechariah seems to promise that Judah in the future is to be governed by native rulers (פִּנְיָה) rather than by foreigners.<sup>2</sup> It has been disputed just what the "Head of the Corner" in Ps. 118:22 is intended to signify, but it is interesting to observe that at Zech. 10:4 and Ps. 118:22 as well as at Isa. 28:16 the Targum identifies the cornerstone with the Messianic King. It is clear from this usage that פִּנְיָה is an appropriate and well-recognized figure for a personal ruler. Further, the stone's quality of approvedness and the fact that it is the cornerstone of the foundation of Yahweh's great building (the messianic kingdom) are descriptions entirely fitting if the stone is the Messiah. (5) If we once more recur to the exegetical interpretations of verse 16 under review we discover that four great doctrines have been found in the passage, (a) the doctrine of faith, especially connected with Isa. 7:9, (b) the doctrine of the Remnant especially connected with Isa. 7:3, (c) the doctrine of the impregnability of Zion, especially connected with 14:32, and finally (d) the doctrine of the Messiah, especially connected with the famous passages 9:1 ff. and 11:1 ff. The first two of these doctrines are admitted practically by all scholars to be genuine doctrines of Isaiah. The textual basis for them in verse 16 is found more especially in the last clause. The genuineness of the fourth doctrine has been regarded with steadily increasing suspicion during the last generation. The textual basis for it is found in the verse as a whole. With regard to the genuineness of the doctrine of the impregnability of Zion the controversy is still very hot, but an impressive array of authorities may be cited in its favor.<sup>3</sup> Its textual basis in verse 16 is found in the phrase "in Zion." If the stone is Jerusalem or the temple or the rock es-sakhra, the

<sup>1</sup> Correct to פִּנְיָה. The use of פִּנְיָה at Zeph. 3:6 is doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jer. 30:21, the passage upon which Zech. 10:4 is based.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hitz., Kno., Ew., Che., Dl., Du., R. Smith, Meinh., Schmidt.



impregnability of Zion is a very natural inference. If the stone is the Remnant the impregnability of Zion may be deduced from the fact that it is regarded as the refuge of the Remnant. If the stone is Yahweh's plan or Yahweh's relationship to Israel, the fact that the plan is wrought out or the relation manifested *in Zion* has also been regarded as a premise of the city's inviolability. But is a reference to any of these four doctrines natural in the present connection? This question leads us to the final stage of our inquiry, an examination of verse 16 from the critical rather than the exegetical point of view.

## V. THE SPURIOUS CHARACTER OF VERSE 16 AND ITS PROBABLE ORIGINAL MEANING AND CONNECTIONS

### A. REMOVAL OF THE STONE FROM ITS PRESENT CONTEXT

It is a remarkable fact that the originality of verse 16 has been well-nigh unanimously accepted, not only by conservative scholars, but by critical scholars as well. The only discordant voices in the general chorus which I have noted are those of Koppe, Meinhold, and Volz, and the last-mentioned scholar only *suggests* a suspicion of the passage without giving his reasons for it.<sup>1</sup> Thus this opinion is indeed represented by only a Remnant, and it may seem to be a quite futile as well as an audacious undertaking to join one's self to such a small minority. But let us see first what Koppe has to say: "It has always been surprising to me how the prophet could light upon such a promise of the Messiah [the undisputed interpretation among Christian scholars of his day] and the happiness to be based upon him after a description of such abominable godlessness in the nation and before the threat of the divine punishment. Quite independent, therefore, of every later interpretation,<sup>2</sup> and, considering the passage only in its connection, it appears to me to be a poetic expression of the following thought—'I am present as a righteous judge to give final judgment upon my people.' The picture is as follows: God, who dwells in Zion . . . . lays in Zion a stone, fixed and well established, and places upon it justice and

<sup>1</sup> *Voreziliſche Jahwehprophetie*, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Koppe, at least, was not afraid of being thought singular.



righteousness with line and scales in order to measure the mass of the people's sins and to weigh their deeds . . . . (cf. II Kings 21:13)." In other words the stone furnishes a secure basis upon which Yahweh's instruments of precision are to be placed which he employs for the destruction of his people. Koppe's criticism, it will be observed, is directed against the messianic interpretation of the passage. It is further significant that in his translation of the verses the adjective "precious" is omitted and verse 16*d* is regarded as parenthetical. If the stone is to be regarded as a kind of support for the scales of righteousness by which the people's sins are to be weighed, and the whole verse is to be interpreted as a threat, these variations in the translation of verse 16 are logical. But it is impossible to think that verse 16 is intended as a threat and exclusively a threat. Meinhold finds the same difficulty as Koppe found with verse 16 in its present connection, but seeks to defend its originality in a different way. Having identified the stone with the Remnant he supposes that Isaiah intends to threaten the present leaders of Jerusalem by warning them that the Remnant in time to come will take their place as the foundation of the state. The Remnant is "a new stone" to be substituted for the old foundation.<sup>1</sup> Such an interpretation may stand as a classic example of what can be done to a biblical text by the sophistical ingenuity of exegesis. Nevertheless the feeling of Koppe and Meinhold and apparently also of Volz that verse 16, construed as a promise, is not in harmony with its context is correct.<sup>2</sup> Why is it, then, that the incongruity of the verse with its context has not been more generally recognized? I am inclined to think that it is mainly due to two reasons. The first is the fact that the great majority of commentators have adopted the past construction for *יִסֵּד יְהוָה*. The second and more important reason is the close association which is supposed to exist between verse 16*d* and Isaiah's well-known doctrine of faith.

<sup>1</sup> STK, 1893, pp. 35 ff.; *Der Rest*, pp. 133 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Schmidt's comment also seems to imply a lurking suspicion of the difficulty of the verse. After interpreting vs. 16 as a message of hope he continues: "But the prophet does not triumph in the thought upon the salvation of the few. When he pictures to himself how Yahweh stands up and rages with loud battle-cry among his own people. . . . something shrieks in his soul Yahweh will do his work, strange is his work." But *why* does not the prophet triumph in the thought of vs. 16? He seems to take much less satisfaction in its pleasant anticipations than his interpreters do.



If the stone is already laid verse 16 might be the statement of an existing fact rather than a definite promise. As such it might conceivably be worked into the present connection in much the same way as the assurances in 28:12 and 30:15 are worked into *their* threatening connections. As in those passages a right way is provided for deliverance, but a way which the people reject, so, it might be argued, Isaiah points out in 28:16 the true way of salvation which is again rejected, and hence the doom in what follows. On the other hand, if verse 16 refers altogether to the future, the natural interpretation of the passage is purely promissory in which case its incompatibility with its context is fully revealed. If the stone is already laid the emphasis may still fall as at 28:12 and 30:15 on the fatality of disbelieving as contrasted with the security of believing; on the basis of the future construction the emphasis falls upon the security of believing as contrasted with the fatality of disbelieving. But even apart from the questionable interpretation of verse 16*b* as preterite, is the thought of the verse meant to be analogous to verse 12 or 30:15? Scarcely. If this were the intention we would expect verse 16*d* to be expressed negatively: "He who does *not* believe (or better still, '*has not believed*') shall be put to shame." The threat would follow more logically upon such a formulation (cf. especially 7:9*b*). Verse 16*d* in its present formulation is a promise and not a threat even though the stone is already laid. As a matter of fact while I believe the preterite construction has tended almost unconsciously to obscure somewhat the promissory character of verse 16 and thus to veil its difficulty in its present context, the real reason why scholars have been so slow to raise the question of the genuineness of the verse is probably the second one mentioned above, namely, the close connection between verse 16*d* and Isaiah's doctrine of faith. But before we examine the legitimacy of this argument let us notice more in detail the really insuperable difficulties of the verse in its context.

1. In the first place it must be recollected that the verse is in a speech addressed to Isaiah's opponents, the mockers of verse 14. We are not expecting a word of consolation in this connection. The stone as a symbol of any sort of hope is an obstacle in the path of the thought, a stone of stumbling to the exegete; for even granting



the preterite construction of verse 16*b*, hope is a prominent element in the verse.

2. For example, those who hold that verse 16 together with verse 17*a* implies some sort of a development, suggested by the connection in the figure between foundation and superstructure, import a distinct element of promise for the future into the passage.<sup>1</sup>

3. If the hope which is found in verse 16 is a hope which involves the impregnability of Zion, and this is the usual inference as we have seen drawn from the phrase "in Zion," it becomes increasingly difficult to incorporate the verse into its present context. How does the inviolability of Zion agree with the unrelieved threats upon the prophet's opponents in verses 17*b*–19? Do they not live in Zion according to verse 14? How, then, are they to be disposed of? We have already seen how Knobel is conscious of this difficulty and seeks to relieve it.<sup>2</sup> Meinhold resorts in the end to the same expedient. In his view the inviolability of Zion is necessary to the preservation of the Remnant. If the Remnant is to be preserved Zion must be preserved. Accordingly, if the sinners are in Zion they must be evicted in some way or other before they can be destroyed in agreement with verses 17–19. It is suggested that they were destroyed in battle outside the walls of the capital.<sup>3</sup> Skinner also reflects upon this problem. After identifying the stone with the Remnant in Zion he raises the question whether Zion itself is symbolical just as the stone is symbolical, "or is it conceived literally as the local habitation and shelter of the faithful Israelites who form the nucleus of the new people of God [Meinhold's view]? It is difficult to decide: but if the latter view were right, it seems clear that a distinction must be drawn between Zion and Jerusalem. For the refuge of the political partisans whom Isaiah is opposing is naturally behind the walls of the capital; and if the flood is to overtake them there, he must still have held to the expectation that the Assyrian would capture Jerusalem." Which being interpreted means that Professor Skinner, instead of seeing to it that the enemies of Isaiah are conducted out of the city in order not to be

<sup>1</sup> Cf. especially Dillmann's view. But the same idea is also found in Duhm.

<sup>2</sup> See above p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Der Rest*, pp. 156 ff.



*saved* with the city along with the Remnant, sees to it that the Remnant are conducted out of the city *into the temple*, in order that they may not be *destroyed* along with the sinners in the city. But Skinner's wholesome Scotch common sense inclines to revolt from the artificiality of these exegetical stratagems by which to secure the simultaneous destruction of the wicked and the preservation of the Remnant, and he decides that Zion is here only a symbol, though he does not tell us of what it is a symbol. Therefore he concludes that the passage does not teach the impregnability of Zion. The prophet's thought has not yet "crystallized" into this doctrine. This resolution of Zion into a rather vague and undefined symbol gets rid of a glaring inconsistency between verse 16 and its context. Yet in the emphasis which Skinner lays upon the promise of the Remnant which is to be built upon the stone (God's relation to Israel) the inconsistency of such a hope in a passage of doom addressed to the mockers is just as real, even if not quite so obvious, as when the verse is interpreted to teach the inviolability of Zion.

4. If the interpretation of verse 16*b* as future is adopted and the stone is identified with the Messiah, the verse becomes altogether promissory and wholly detached from its context. In this interpretation the difficulty of the verse in its present connection reaches its climax. The fact that even those critical scholars who still hold to the genuineness of the specifically messianic-hope passages in Isaiah refuse to find the doctrine expressed at 28:16 is strong testimony to its utter incongruity with its present context. Thus we arrive at the conclusion that the exegetically most probable of all the speculative attempts to identify the stone is the critically most dubious. Is this not a very suspicious circumstance? But after all is not the argument thus far pursued beside the mark? It is true that the various promises which have been found in verse 16 cannot be addressed to the mockers; but why may not verse 16 be an aside? As a matter of fact this is the theory upon which every interpretation of the passage except Koppe's and Meinhold's impossible ones proceed, either tacitly or expressly.

5. This theory is effectually prevented by the "therefore" (לכן) which introduces the verse. As we have already seen "therefore" is the "therefore" of the apodosis and can naturally introduce



only a threat. Those who hold to the originality of the verse must take it practically as an adversative and as introducing an aside.<sup>1</sup> The legitimacy of this view of the לִכְן cannot for a moment be admitted. It is unquestionably the לִכְן of the apodosis, and the proper apodosis is found at verses 17b-19, and this leads to the final objection to the originality of verses 16b-17a.

6. Not only is it illegitimate to construe these clauses as an antithesis and an aside after the לִכְן, but when they are squeezed in between verses 15-16a and 17b-19 they disrupt the rhetorical power of the true protasis and apodosis in the most unfortunate way.<sup>2</sup> Not only the logical and grammatical but the poetical structure of the passage is broken down by the insertion of verses 16b-17a. While the rhythm of the context is irregular, we have seen how the parallelism is most carefully worked out and protasis and apodosis are bound into a rhetorical unity through the chiasmic arrangement of the clauses. In verse 16 rhythm, parallelism, and chiasm are abandoned. This is admittedly not true of verse 17a which has a better poetical structure than verse 16, but verse 17a could not possibly have stood by itself in this connection. It depends upon verse 16 to give it any meaning. Accordingly the conviction becomes almost irresistible that we are dealing in the case of verses 16b-17a, as in so many other cases in Isaiah, with an intrusion. If the logion is removed to the margin and looked upon as a note appended in a messianic interest, its relationship to the context at once becomes clear. It is intended by the ancient commentator who introduced it here to palliate the very terrible denunciations of the original prophecy. But why is it that the secondary character of verses 16b-17a has not been more generally recognized? Here we must recur to the second of the reasons assigned above (p. 38) to account for the failure to raise the question more earnestly of the

<sup>1</sup> It is astonishing to see how practically all the commentators side-step the difficulties created by the לִכְן of vs. 16a. Dillmann is the only one who makes any real attempt to do justice to it. By emphasizing the idea of development (foundation and superstructure) and by throwing the emphasis upon the superstructure, vs. 17a, in the sense of a threat (the sinners are to be judged by righteousness) he is able to attach the לִכְן to this implied threat. This means that vs. 16 is completely subordinated in thought to vs. 17a. But this is certainly not the impression made by the passage in which the chief emphasis is given to the foundation stone and the thought of the superstructure is not worked out at all. Cf. above pp. 16 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See above pp. 16 ff.



genuineness of this verse, and consider it more in detail. It may well be asked whether we do not have in verse 16*d* with its emphasis upon faith Isaiah's own signature to the genuineness of the logion. It is the close connection of this clause with Isaiah's doctrine of faith, I take it, which has been the main reason why scholars have accepted the genuineness of the verse as a matter of course. Now the similarity of verse 16*d* to 7:9 is indeed striking, though it is perhaps not wholly without significance that 7:9 is expressed negatively and is intended to imply a threat, in keeping with Isaiah's usual point of view, whereas 28:16*d* is expressed positively and suggests hope for those who believe rather than doom for those who do not believe. But it is to be noticed that the supposed Isaianic character of verse 16 is limited to this last clause. Nowhere else does Isaiah refer to this stone, whatever is meant by it. If the impregnability of Zion is implied in the verse it is doubtful whether the passage will agree with Isaiah's views elsewhere any better than with the present context.<sup>1</sup> If the passage refers to the Messiah, it is again more than doubtful whether Isaiah anywhere else expresses such a hope. If the stone were the Remnant this would no doubt agree with Isaiah's theology. But is it the Remnant? As a matter of fact we can establish no connection in thought between verse 16*b* and 16*c* and Isaiah's ideas until the stone is identified. The succession of the constructs in the verse may have a certain phraseological analogy to verse 1 of the same chapter, but this, as we have seen, is by no means certain. Thus the case for the originality of the logion is based upon the last clause. At this point we must remind ourselves of the difficulties which have met us in connection with this clause. These are of two kinds, exegetical and text-critical. Exegetically it has been found difficult to decide just how the clause is related to the rest of the verse. The present connection with verse 15 strongly suggests that the faith referred to in verse 16*d* is faith in the stone and we have seen how this interpretation has made its way into the text itself in certain of the Greek manuscripts. On the other hand the question instinctively arises, if the intention was to refer to faith in the stone, why is this not more precisely expressed? Why is the thought expressed so abstractly? If the

<sup>1</sup> The passage which is most analogous, 14:32, is exposed to the gravest suspicions.



intention was to refer to faith in the abstract, to the attitude of faith rather than to the object of faith, then the question arises as to the exact relationship of the clause to the rest of the verse. We have seen in what various ways this connection has been explained.<sup>1</sup> Text-critically the verb in verse 16*d* has given rise to serious suspicion. We have seen that יִדְּיֵשׁ does not give any good sense here, if it is to be assigned the meaning which it has elsewhere in the Old Testament. Two ways may be suggested to meet this difficulty. It may be taken in the sense which it has in the post-biblical Hebrew, the sense of "be anxious" and which the "ع" has in the Arabic.<sup>2</sup> But in that case we would have in the very clause which is supposed to be Isaiah's seal to the genuineness of the verse a word whose meaning would go far to stamp the verse as late. The favorite method by which to avoid the difficulty of יִדְּיֵשׁ has been to emend it to יִבְרֵשׁ.<sup>3</sup> But this emendation by itself is not at all satisfactory. The verb יִבְרֵשׁ is found twenty-one times and in only four cases is it used of persons and in these cases it means "to depart," not to "fail," a sense which is quite inadequate in the present context.<sup>4</sup> But the fact that the verb usually refers to things suggests the possibility of a still further emendation which has been recently proposed by Ehrlich. The last clause is to be read נֶאֱמָן לֹא יִבְרֵשׁ and the לֹא יִבְרֵשׁ taken as a relative clause—"the precious stone of a sure foundation which shall not remove." This suits admirably the meaning and usage of יִבְרֵשׁ, the view of the stone expressed in בִּרְחָן,<sup>5</sup> and the fact that it is a foundation stone. If this emendation is adopted, and, in view of the great uncertainties of the present text, there is much to recommend it, the idea of faith, which is the one idea which connects this verse with characteristically Isaianic

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the Targum's explanation is the simplest which appears to refer the faith, not to faith in the stone, but in the *promise* that the stone is to be laid.

<sup>2</sup> See above p. 9. The meaning "to blush," which the "ع" has in the Arabic, which is retained in the Arabic version and which possibly underlies G, is less adequate.

<sup>3</sup> So Che., Guthe, Duhm, Marti, Ehrlich. If G actually read יִבְרֵשׁ this emendation is especially easy, as ב and מ are very frequently interchanged.

<sup>4</sup> Exod. 33:11; Num. 14:44; Judg. 6:18; Job 23:12 (figuratively).

<sup>5</sup> Ehrlich emends to בִּרְחָן and compares Zech. 4:7, but in this I am not inclined to follow him. I would suggest the possibility of a reminiscence at this point of I Sam. 2:35 and 25:28 (the sure house). This would admirably agree with the messianic interpretation of the stone.



teaching, is eliminated, and the argument for the originality of the verse based upon this clause falls to the ground.

To sum up the points which have been established as more or less probable by the course of our investigations thus far: (1) There is no certain identification of the stone. Neither the immediate context nor Isaiah's teaching elsewhere enables us to identify it. At most they only furnish clues as to what the stone *cannot* be. Hence the answer to the question what the stone is must remain a speculative answer. (2) The exegetical and grammatical demands of the text and context favor the view that the stone is to be laid in the future and that it represents an objective reality. The identification of the stone with the Messiah satisfies these requirements better than any other theory. (3) Exegetical considerations also favor the view that the faith spoken of in verse 16*d* is faith in the stone. (4) Yet if that is the case, why is verse 16*d* expressed in such an abstract way? (5) On any theory of verse 16 it contains a promise, a promise, moreover, which is closely connected with Zion. (6) But hope is most unexpected in an address in which Isaiah denounces his opponents in the capital. (7) The verse would therefore have to be regarded as an aside. But is it an aside by Isaiah or by some commentator upon Isaiah? It is most unlikely that an aside would be introduced by the לִכְּ of verse 16*a* which introduces the apodosis to verse 15. (8) Further, verses 16*b*–17*a* disturb the rhetorical unity and poetical structure of verses 16*a* and 17*b*–19 in a most unfortunate way. (9) The conclusion that we are dealing in the case of verses 16*b*–17*a* with an intrusion into the text seems to be almost irresistible and agrees with the well-recognized fact that the Book of Isaiah has been subjected to revision in the messianic interest elsewhere. (10) The one phrase in the verse which seems to connect its teachings with Isaiah's and to bear the imprint of his mind, namely, verse 16*d*, is exegetically and text-critically open to suspicion. If the verb יִיָּשׁ is assigned a meaning adequate to the context, it must be assigned a meaning which is not elsewhere found in biblical Hebrew, but is found only in post-biblical Hebrew, a fact which casts grave suspicion upon the genuineness of the clause. If resort is had to emendation, Ehrlich's suggestion is the most probable. It brings unity into the verse and, if the verse refers to the Messiah,



at the same time connects it through **בִּנְיָן** with another messianically interpreted passage in a very interesting way (a point not noted by Ehrlich). I therefore conclude that the probabilities (one can speak only of probabilities) point with considerable force to the identification of the stone with the Messiah and at the same time to the denial of the originality of the verse.

#### B. THE TRANSFER OF THE STONE TO A NEW POSITION

Into the questions when verse 16 was inserted and out of what theological or political background it came, it is impossible to enter in detail. The answer would involve a discussion of the date and purpose of the revision of Isaiah. Yet it is worth while to look briefly at certain other passages with which our verse seems to stand in more or less close connection and *which undoubtedly belong to a much later period*. (1) At Job 38:6 and Jer. 51:26 we meet the phrases **אֶבֶן פִּנְתָּה** (i.e., the cornerstone of the earth) and **אֶבֶן לְפִנֵּה** (i.e., Babylon's cornerstone). But the expressions are natural in the connection in which they are used, and, though very similar to our passage, nothing probably can be inferred from the phraseological coincidence. The next two passages are much more interesting. (2) At Zech. 10:3 ff. there is a rebuke of the foreign rulers of Judah (verse 3), accompanied by a promise that the Jews will become like fine war-horses and will trample down their enemies (verse 5). Verse 4 is set in antithesis to verse 3 and alludes to the native rulers under the figures of a cornerstone and a nail which are to come out of Judah (not out of Yahweh).<sup>1</sup> In this passage the cornerstone and the nail are unquestionably symbols of persons, and symbols, furthermore, of a native Jewish dynasty as opposed to foreigners. The allusion to Isaiah seems to be clear, for "nail" points to 22:23 as "cornerstone" points to 28:16. This would imply that Isa. 28:16 was in its present position when Zech. 10:4 was written. But is this verse original in Zechariah? It is interesting to discover that the latest commentator upon this passage, Professor Mitchell, regards it as an insertion. It is certainly parenthetical, since verse 5 continues verse 3, and it is antithetic to verse 3, in both respects resembling the position of Isa. 28:16 in its context.

<sup>1</sup> So Kell, Nowack, Marti, Mitchell. Cf. especially Jer. 30:21 upon which the verse undoubtedly depends.



Yet it must be admitted that Zech. 10:4 does not confuse or contradict its context as Isa. 28:16 does its context. The Targum interprets the passage messianically<sup>1</sup> just as it interprets Isa. 28:16. (3) The resemblance of Ps. 118:22 to our passage is striking. In the first place its relationship to its context is as dubious as in the case of Isa. 28:16, and in the second place it resembles our passage in the fact that neither the verse itself nor its context throws any light whatsoever upon the identification of the stone. It would almost seem as if there were—to coin a phrase—a *lithic* messianic doctrine in existence in this late period. This is further suggested by the curious use of the stone in Dan., chapter 2, where it has clearly messianic significance but is not a particularly natural symbol to use in this connection, unless the stone had already acquired messianic associations. In Dan., chapter 2, the stone scarcely indicates a personal Messiah; it symbolizes, rather, the messianic kingdom. Commentators have identified the stone at Ps. 118:22 with Zion, and Jerusalem is undoubtedly called a stone at Zech. 12:3. But it is more natural to interpret the stone at Ps. 118:22 personally, and this is the view of the Targum.<sup>2</sup> But the significant thing is that in both Isaiah and the psalm the identification of the stone is for us a matter of guesswork. This can hardly have been the case originally. In other words the authors of both texts probably *presuppose* a *knowledge upon the part of their readers as to what was meant by the stone*. This point strongly favors a late date for both passages. (4) There is still another passage which tends to confirm the conclusion thus reached, namely Zech. 3:8 ff. compared with 4:7. I fully realize that in dealing with Zech. 3:8 ff. we are dealing with a passage which bristles with as many difficulties as Isa. 28:16 itself does, and only conjecture is possible. But by this time we are accustomed to breathe in an atmosphere of conjecture. It is certainly queer

<sup>1</sup> "From him his King, from him his Messiah." The pronoun in the Targum refers to Yahweh, not to Judah. The verse itself appears to understand stone and nail collectively (cf. כֶּלֶל-הַיָּנֶשׁ) but even so it would be messianic. Could the insertion be limited to the first clause?

<sup>2</sup> "The boy who was among the sons of Jesse and deserved to be king did the architects despise." The Targum understands by the architects the scribes or elders who came with Samuel to Jesse in order to anoint a king. They passed over David. The word for architect is used in the same symbolic way elsewhere in talmudic literature. Cf. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*. The application to David may be regarded as at least indirectly messianic.



how many of these stones of stumbling there are scattered about to trip the feet of the unwary critic. But there are several facts concerning the Zechariah passage which appear to me to be sufficiently certain. (a) The stone at 4:7 is certainly a temple stone and most probably the capstone (not the cornerstone). The passage, verses 6-10a, is not in its original position, but is undoubtedly genuine and adequately explained out of the historical situation in which Zechariah prophesied. However, the Targum again interprets the stone expressly as the Messiah. (b) Rothstein's view that Zechariah's vision of the purification of Joshua the high priest in chapter 3 closes at verse 7,<sup>1</sup> I believe to be correct. The following verses, verses 8-10, did not originally belong to it. The attempt, therefore, of scholars (for example Mitchell) to bring verses 8-10 into organic unity with what precedes seeks the solution of these difficult verses along wrong lines. Verses 8-10 are more closely related to the contents of the following chapter than they are to the first part of chapter 3. (c) At verse 9 we again meet with a most bothersome stone which scholars are at a loss what to do with. As in the case of Isa. 28:16 and Ps. 118:22 its identification is left to guesswork. But in the present instance there is a stone in the general context which *can* be identified. It would therefore seem natural to explain the stone in 3:9 by the stone in 4:7. It is true that, as the text now stands, the stone at 3:9 is connected with Joshua whereas at 4:7 it is connected and properly so with Zerubbabel. But the question is whether the text at 3:8-10 is in its original form. Joshua may well have been introduced into this passage when it became wrongly associated with 3:1-7. Practically all scholars at the present time admit that Joshua has been incorrectly introduced at 6:11 ff. If we are to interpret the stone at 3:9 by the stone at 4:7 it would be the fittingly carved capstone of the temple and the fact that its gleaming is referred to (its seven eyes) probably implies that it is a semi-precious stone.<sup>2</sup> But now, if my suggestions are accepted, a very interesting fact comes to light. The last clause of verse 8b unquestionably is a promise of the coming Messiah. Now

<sup>1</sup> *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja*, pp. 87 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The stones of the temple, we remember, are called precious (יקרה) even though they are hewn stones; cf. above p. 3. The seven eyes *may* be only symbolic of Yahweh's protection. The interpretation above develops Marti's suggestions.



it is certain that the messianic hope at the time of Zechariah centered in Zerubbabel. But 3:8b cannot refer to Zerubbabel for Zerubbabel *was already on the ground*.<sup>1</sup> Marti and Mitchell have rightly seen that the author of 3:8b is looking forward to a *future* Messiah, not to Zerubbabel, and have drawn the logical inference that this clause is a gloss. But to what element in the text is it a gloss? I would suggest that it is intended as an identification of the stone in verse 9 with the Messiah. This is confirmed by the Targum which almost certainly makes this identification. I venture to think that the Targum's identification of the stone in these various passages should be given more weight than is usually done and for the following reason. These passages are allusive. They seem to imply that the symbol of the stone would be at once intelligible, in other words that there existed in late pre-Christian Judaism a traditional use of the stone as a symbol of the Messiah. If the suggestion is adopted that Zech. 8:3b is a gloss upon the stone that is mentioned in the next verse it would afford a striking confirmation of the existence of the supposed tradition. This tradition would be preserved in the Targum. Of course it is not claimed that the Targum can be safely utilized to sustain the correctness of messianic interpretations of passages out of the earlier literature, but it is by no means unreasonable to suppose that it has preserved at times the original eschatological meaning of a passage out of the later literature.

That there was such an exegetical tradition is further confirmed in the most interesting manner by the New Testament. This agrees with the theories implied in the conjectured gloss at Zech. 3:8 and the Targum in identifying the stone in Isa. 28:16 and Ps. 122:18 with the Messiah. At Mark 12:10=Matt. 21:42=Luke 20:17 Jesus is impliedly the cornerstone which the builders reject. At Acts 4:11 he is expressly identified with the rejected stone. At Eph. 2:20 he is the cornerstone, the apostles, the foundation, and the Christian believers the superstructure, the whole building being a holy temple. The allusion to Isa. 28:16 in the one word ἀκρογωνιαίον is unmistakable. At I Cor. 3:11-13 our Isaiah passage seems to be again in mind though there is no verbal allusion to it.

<sup>1</sup> Sellin's explanations of the peculiarities of this section of Zechariah's visions and his historical deductions from them I can no longer find satisfying. Cf. his *Studien*.



But the two most significant passages are Rom. 9:33 and I Pet. 2:4-8. In both Isa. 28:16 and 8:14 are combined and in the second one Ps. 118:22 is also introduced. Not only are the passages treated in the same way in both epistles but the text of Isa. 28:16 in both epistles agrees in many particulars as against G. It is therefore generally conceded that there must be a literary connection between them. Evidence has accumulated in recent years of the probable existence of what might be called messianic handbooks in use in the early Christian church which furnished convenient proof-passages that Jesus was the Messiah. But it is altogether probable that many of these proof-passages had already been in use in the Jewish synagogue. Such a handbook would readily account for the similarity between I Peter and Romans in the present instance. The existence of such a corpus of messianic texts in the Jewish church as well as in the Christian, whether in oral or written form and at the same time the existence of a *lithic* theology among the Jews is finally confirmed by Justin's *Dialogue* with the Jew Trypho. It is somewhat curious that Justin never refers to Ps. 118:22, nor does he allude to Isa. 28:16 except once where he uses cornerstone as a title of Jesus (chap. 126). But this allusion is very significant. *He counts on being understood by Trypho at once!* Equally significant is the fact that Jesus is called a stone by Justin without a word of explanation. Thus at chapter 34 he says that Jesus was variously called "King and God and Lord and angel and man and stone and a son born. . . ." Such allusions certainly imply a generally accepted messianic interpretation of the stone.<sup>1</sup> The testimony of the Targum, the New Testament, and Justin make it altogether probable that the use of the stone as a symbol of the Messiah reached back into pre-Christian times. If Zech. 3:8b is indeed a gloss upon the stone in verse 9 this conjecture would be confirmed. My suggestion is that such passages as Isa. 28:16; Ps. 118:22; Zech. 10:4; and 3:8b, come out of the time when this symbolism was popular among

<sup>1</sup> For similar lists cf. messianic titles of which the stone is one, cf. chaps. 100, 114, and 126; cf. also chap. 36. At chaps. 70 and 76 the stone is connected with Dan. 2:34, 44 f., as it had been already connected in Barnabas, chap. 6, where the stone for crushing seems to be an allusion to the Daniel passage. Finally at *Diat.*, chap. 86, the stone which Jacob anointed at Bethel is also interpreted of Jesus.



the Jews.<sup>1</sup> It remains to clear up if possible the meaning which is indicated by the deflection in G's text from the thought of the trustworthiness of the stone to the thought of its preciousness. This deflection is possibly due to the fact that G was influenced by a somewhat different interpretation of 28:16. At Isa. 54:11 f. there is a highly poetical description of the glorified Zion of the messianic age whose walls are built up with precious stones (λίθους ἐκλεκτούς). At Tobit 13:16 we have a parallel description clearly dependent upon Isa. 54:11 f. where, again, Jerusalem's walls are to be built up with precious stone (λίθῳ ἐντίμῳ).<sup>2</sup> We have discovered that the two adjectives applied to the stone in Isa. 28:16 (ἐκλεκτόν and ἐντίμον) are not the usual words applied to a stone, but the first of these is found in Isa. 54 and the second, if the reading is accepted (see above p. 9), in Tobit 13. These connections may suggest that the author of G's text was thinking of the glory of Zion in the messianic period rather than of the Messiah himself. G's rendering of verse 16d would have some force on this view. No one who believes this promise will need to be ashamed of the Zion of the future. But we have seen that the text of G cannot be vindicated as against the Hebrew. Hence the interpretation which is based on G's text must be rejected. But G raises the question whether the Hebrew text itself may not have been modified at one point in the direction of G's interpretation. With some diffidence I would suggest the possibility of יקרד being a gloss in agreement with G's identification of the stone with the precious material in the walls of the glorified Zion. Finally the pointing of יסד as preterite is probably to be explained as due to a desire to co-ordinate the verse with 14:32 and to suggest that Zion is the stone.<sup>3</sup> This view implies that Zion is not the Zion of the future but empirical Zion. This interpretation cannot be accepted as it involves taking כ as the כ *essentiae*. But

<sup>1</sup> Is it possible that the misunderstanding of the stone at Zech. 3:8 and 4:7 could be the source of the idea of messianic stones? Unfortunately I have been unable to look through the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature for any traces of our *lithic* doctrine.

<sup>2</sup> For precious stones *πολυτελῆς* in Solomon's temple, cf. I Chron. 29:2; and in the second temple Esd. 6:9, cf. Ezra 5:8 (*ἐκλεκτός*). For the same general idea, compare also Rev. 21:18.

<sup>3</sup> So König and Marti.



those who thus pointed the passage were unmindful of this difficulty for they probably had a dogmatic purpose in view. It looks as if they wished to prevent the Christian use of the passage which saw in it a prediction of Jesus. Many of the critical Christian scholars of the nineteenth century have also used the preterite construction to combat the messianic interpretation of the passage.

I realize that the suggestions advanced in the preceding pages are of the most tentative description. They are hardly more than guesses in the dark. It is quite probable that in spite of all the elaborate critical machinery by which I have undertaken to pry the stone out of its present position, my engineering ambitions will come to nought, and the stone will quietly slip back into its place again. Yet I believe I can claim with some show of justification that even if it is not removed, it must hereafter lie unused, so far as Isaiah's eschatology is concerned, like the mighty monolith in the quarries of Baalbek. In spite of the admirable qualities ascribed to it, it cannot serve as a basis to build any theory of Isaiah's doctrines upon. A wholly futile conclusion, I hear someone say, and one quite unworthy the time and labor spent to attain it. But if it is accepted the one who spent the time and did the labor will be content.



# Ê-NU-ŠUB=BIT ŠIPTI<sup>1</sup>

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In the *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* (III, 36), Dr. Langdon proposes the reading *Ea ša pašari* for the puzzling <sup>d</sup>Ên Ê-nu-šub,<sup>2</sup> which is a not infrequent designation at the head of exorcising formulas.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Langdon has not offered a translation for *Ea ša pašari* but he would presumably render it "Ea of releasing" or the like. The equation would be important if it were correct, which unfortunately it is not. A glance at the passage on which Langdon bases his reading shows that the conjecture which he has added to the "great many conjectures" (as he says) for Ê-nu-šub must be relegated to the limbo of rejected guesses. Langdon's guess rests on an erroneous restoration of *Cuneiform Texts*, XXIV, 42, 114, where he proposes to read

[<sup>d</sup>Ên Ê]-nu-šub=[<sup>d</sup>Ea] ša pa-ša-[ri].

Apart from the fact that, as will be shown, the restoration in the left-hand column, though tempting because of *CT*, XXIV, 27, 7, is open to serious question, the restoration in the right-hand column can definitely be shown to be incorrect. Dr. Langdon says that the passage *CT*, XXIV, 42, 114, has "escaped the attention of Assyriologists." I doubt this, but it seems quite clear that it has escaped the attention of Dr. Langdon that *CT*, XXV, 48(=II R. 58, No. 5), is a text that is partly parallel and partly supplementary to *CT*, XXIV, 42. For our purpose it is sufficient to compare *CT*, XXV, 48, 6-9, with *CT*, XXIV, 42, 113-16. Columns *c-d* of the former read:

<sup>d</sup>E-a ša ni-me-ki, i.e., "Ea as the god of wisdom"

" " pa-ša-ri, i.e., "Ea as the potter"

" " nap-pa-ši, i.e., "Ea as the smith"

" " i-din-ni,<sup>4</sup> i.e., "Ea as the builder(?)"

<sup>1</sup> I follow in this article the satisfactory "System of Accentuation for Sumero-Akkadian Signs," by Clarence E. Kelser (*Yale Oriental Series*, Vol. IX. Appendix. Yale University Press, 1919).

<sup>2</sup> At first read *E-nu-ru*, on the supposition that *nûru* was the Akkadian for "light." For the reading *iub* see below, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> Correct the traces in *CT*, XXIV, 42, 114, accordingly.



It is evident, therefore, that we must restore columns *b-c* of *CT*, XXIV, 42, 113-16, as follows:

<sup>d</sup>*Ea* ša ni-[me-ki]  
 “ ša pa-[ha-ri]  
 “ ša nap-pa-[hi]  
 “ ša i-din-ni

Langdon's *ša pa-ša-ri* thus disappears. The parallelism is confirmed by a further comparison of columns *a-b* of *CT*, XXV, 48, with column *a* of *CT*, XXIV, 42. The former is a four column text, in which the first two columns give either (*a*) variant equivalents for names or epithets of the god *Ea* as explained in the third and fourth columns, or (*b*) in the absence of equivalents, the second column repeats the Sumerian designation given in the first column as e.g., in the case of lines 1, 2, 4, 5.<sup>1</sup> Line 8 furnishes the writing <sup>d</sup>*Nin-á-gal* (“lord of great strength”) for *Ea ša nappáhi* with the variant designation in the second column *Simug* (Brünnow, No. 6726) for “smith.” Column *a* of line 115 in *CT*, XXIV, 42, is, therefore, to be restored.

[<sup>d</sup>*Nin*]-á-gal = <sup>d</sup>*Ea* ša nap-pa-[hi].

The first two columns of line 9 of *CT*, XXV, 48, read:

*Muš-da* = <sup>d</sup>*Dim* = <sup>d</sup>*Ea* ša i-din-ni.

Column *a* of line 116 of the other text is, therefore, to be restored.

[<sup>d</sup>*Nin*]-dim = <sup>d</sup>*Ea* ša i-din-ni,

and similarly in line 113 the traces confirm the restoration

[<sup>d</sup>*Nin*-igi-azag] = *Ea* ša ni-[me-ki],

as in column *b* of line 6 of *CT*, XXV, 48. Line 114, therefore, gives us a designation of *Ea* as the potter or as the patron of pottery<sup>2</sup> and it is evident that such a designation as *Ea ša paḥari* cannot possibly have anything to do with the incantation formula *Ē-nu-šub*. In passing, it may be noted that according to Delitzsch (*Sumerisches*

<sup>1</sup> The first column gives merely the signs, the second declares by the addition of the sign *An* that the signs in the first column designate a deity; and sometimes furnishes as in ll. 6, 12, and 13, variant writings

<sup>d</sup>*Ni-in* igi-azag = <sup>d</sup>*Nin*-igi-azag

<sup>d</sup>*Ni-in* gid-gid = <sup>d</sup>*Nin*-gid-gid

<sup>d</sup>*Ni-in* kúp-pir(ra) = <sup>d</sup>*Nin*-kúp-pir-(ra)

or, the second column furnishes variant ideographic designations as in the examples quoted, ll. 7-9.

<sup>2</sup> It will be recalled that the goddess *Aruru* in the *Gilgamesh Epic*, I, 2, 34, creates man out of clay. *Ea* as the potter is, therefore, an appropriate reference to his capacity as the creator, molding man as a potter molds an object of clay.



*Glossar*, p. 68), the Sumerian word for "potter" is *ba-ḥa-ar*, and it would seem, therefore, that *paḥāru* is a Sumerian loan-word in Akkadian. When, therefore, we find the signs *Düg-sila-bur* used for *paḥāru*, we must recognize this combination as the *name* of the three signs<sup>1</sup> (shown by *CT*, XII, 24, 35 ff., which furnishes, in the third column, such names) and that the signs themselves are to be read *baḥar*. Another designation for the potter is *Šú-gal-an-zu*, i.e., the one who is wise or skilled of hand and likewise to be read *paḥāru* (Brünnow, No. 7203, and Meissner, No. 5202). See also Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar*, p. 226. It is explained as *mu-di-e ka-lā*, "knowing all" (*II R.* 26, 13<sup>e</sup>) and occurs as a designation of *bēlit ilī* (*CT*, XXIV, 12, 30) but not of Ea. There appear to have been two traditions current in Babylonia regarding the creation of man, one attributing it to a goddess (Aruru as *bēlit ilī*), the other to a god, Ea or Enlil or Marduk, according to the center whose deity was recognized as the chief figure of the pantheon. Both *Düg-sila-bur* (i.e., *baḥar*) and *Šú-gal-an-zu* with or without the determinative Lù are used for the profession of the potter.

Coming now to column *a* of line 114 of *CT*, XXIV, 42, it is evident that the first column must represent the equivalent of either column *a* or of column *b* of line 7 of *CT*, XXV, 48. Langdon's restoration of column *a*

[<sup>d</sup>Ên Ê]-nu-šub

is on the basis of *CT*, XXIV, 27, 7, but it is now evident that the first sign after the determinative for deity must be *Nin* or *Nun* and not Ên (Brünnow, No. 10857) the sign for an "incantation." Columns *a-b* of line 7 in *CT*, XXV, 48, read

*Nun-ur-ra* = <sup>d</sup>*Düg-sila*<sup>2</sup>-*bur*

as the equivalent to *Ea ša paḥari*. The signs in column *b* are the common ones to designate "the potter."<sup>3</sup> In the case of *ur-ra* it is significant that we have no less than three different signs used for Ur, viz.,

<sup>1</sup> *Düg* = "jar," *Sila* = "cut," *Bur* = "hollow out." The three signs thus suggest the process of the potter's wheel.

<sup>2</sup> The reading *si-la* as the name for this sign (Brünnow, No. 1353) is furnished by *CT*, XII, 24, 35,

*Düg-si-la-bur-ru-u* = *pa-ḥa-ru*.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., with the addition of Lù, *V R.* 32, 18<sup>e</sup>; and often in business documents. See Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 797<sup>b</sup>.



ûr (Brünnnow, No. 11890) in *CT*, XXIV, 14, 40 (= II R. 54), where we have <sup>d</sup>*Nun-ûr-ra* as one of the names of Ea,<sup>1</sup> and *CT*, XII, 21, Rev. 1 (No. 93058) the sign *ur* (Brünnnow, No. 11256):

.      *Nun-ur-ra* = *Dûg-sila-bur* = ditto<sup>2</sup>

and in *CT*, XXV, 48, 8, úr (Brünnnow, No. 4830)

<sup>d</sup>*Nun-ûr-ra* = <sup>d</sup>*Dûg-sila-bur* = <sup>d</sup>*Ea ša pa-ḥa-ri*.

Of the three writings for *Ur*, two must be phonetic variants of a third which alone can represent the original and correct ideogram; and it is not difficult to select as the original *ûr* the Akkadian equivalent of which is *ḥamamu*, "region."<sup>3</sup> *Nun-ûr(ra)* would, therefore, be the "Lord of the regions," with much the same force as *Nun-šár*, "lord of the totality" (*rubû kiššati*), which follows *Nun-ûr-ra* in *CT*, XXIV, 27, 10, as well as *CT*, XXIV, 14, 42.<sup>4</sup> Writings with *úr* and *ur* are therefore phonetic variants. Coming back now to *CT*, XXIV, 42, 114, it is evident that the name in column *a* must be the equivalent to <sup>d</sup>*Nin-ûr-ra* of *CT*, XXV, 48, 8, and of which <sup>d</sup>*Dûg-sila-bur* (col. *b*) represents the synonym or equivalent. How, then, are we to fill out column *a* of *CT*, XXIV, 42, 114? Langdon's

<sup>1</sup> See also *CT*, XXIV, 27, 9.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., *Nun-ur-ra* = *paḥuru* as an equivalent of Enlil (Obv. 10-11) or of Ea (Rev. 2). *Paḥuru*, as a matter of fact, is an epithet of either Enlil or Ea. See Brünnnow, No. 5895. for another passage. If, therefore (*CT*, XII, 24, 35-37), we find

*Dûg-sila bur-ru-u* = *pa-ḥa-ru* followed by  
ditto                    (an) *Dûg-sila-bur*  
ditto                    (an) *Dûg-sila-bur*

it follows that of the two deities designated as *Dûg-sila-bur*, one must be Enlil or Bel, and the other Ea. The title, presumably, belonged originally to Ea as perhaps the head of the oldest pantheon, and was then transferred to Enlil.

<sup>3</sup> As in the temple name *Ê-ûr-imin-an-ki*, "The house of the seven regions of heaven and earth." See Delitzsch, *Sumer. Glossar*, p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> In the list of names and attributes of Ea (*CT*, XXIV, 14) we must take most of the thirty-six designations in pairs and regard each pair as synonyms or equivalents. The same pairs appear in other texts, as e.g., *CT*, XXIV, 27, in *parallel* columns, or again in a text like *CT*, XXV, 48, they form the first and second columns, with the third and fourth columns furnishing the Akkadian explanations. So in *CT*, XXIV, 14, e.g., *En-uru* and *Nin-uru* (ll. 21-22) are synonyms or equivalents, as are *Lugal-id-da* and *Lugal su-ab* (ll. 23, 24); so also *En-su-ab* and *Nun-su-ab* (ll. 25-26). Therefore ll. 40-41

*Nun-ûr-ra*  
ditto (i.e., *Nun*) *dûg-sila-[bur]*

are synonyms or equivalents, as are ll. 42-43

*Nun-šár*  
ditto (i.e., *Nun*) *dûg-sila-bur*

Since both *Nun-ûr* and *Nun-šár* are thus entered as equivalents to *Nun-dûg-sila-bur* = *Ea ša paḥari*, it is clear that *ûr* = *ḥamamu* must have a force similar to *šár* = *kiššatu*.



proposition to read [<sup>d</sup>Ên<sup>1</sup> Ê]-nu-šub on the basis of *CT*, XXIV, 27, 7, is, to be sure, favored by the traces in King's copy of the text, but the parallel text *CT*, XXV, 48, to *CT*, XXIV, 42, is decisively against the supposition that the first sign can be anything else than *Nun*, or possibly *Nin*. If, therefore, *nu* is correct we must fill out *Nun-nu-ru* and regard this as a further variant phonetic writing for *Nun-ur-ra*. With two phonetic variants for *ur*, it is not going too far to assume that Babylonian scribes should not have been averse to "playing" on a name or epithet, writing *Nun-úr* by the side of *Nun-nu-ur* as the designation of Ea as the potter, or as the patron of pottery. The final vowel in either writing is of no consequence, since *ru* and *ra* are merely phonetic complements to the sign *ur*. The writing *Nun-nur* would, therefore, be a scribal variant to *Nun-ur*. There is, however, the other possibility that the sign *nu* (the line being broken off just at this point) may be the end of the sign *úr* (Brünnow, No. 11890), which, we have seen, is the original form of the designation of Ea in question. This would give us, therefore, *Nun-úr-ru* as against *Nun-úr-ra*. *Ra* instead of *ru* would, of course, be a variant of no consequence. At all events, it is certain that line 114 contains a designation of Ea as the *ilu ša paḥari*, and that the Sumerian designation must be identical in some way with *Nun-úr-ra*.

Moreover, there is something peculiar about line 7 in *CT*, XXIV, 27, which misled Langdon, since there is nothing to correspond to this line in the *parallel* text *CT*, XXIV, 14. A comparison of these two texts shows (see above, p. 54, note 4) that they are parallels, with this difference merely, that in the former the designations of Ea are arranged in *parallel* columns as equivalents, while in the latter they are placed *consecutively* in the left-hand column. Thus line 3 of *CT*, XXIV, 27, giving two names in parallel columns as equivalents, corresponds to lines 29–30 of *CT*, XXIV, 14; line 4 to lines 31–32 with line 33 as an additional variant or equivalent; line 5 to lines 34–35; line 6 to lines 36–37; line 8 to lines 38–39; line 9 to lines 40–41; line 10 to lines 42–43; line 11 to line 44 (without any variant or equivalent); line 12 to lines 45–46; line 13 to lines 47–48; line 14 to lines 49–50; line 15 to lines 51–52, etc., but for line 7 <sup>d</sup>Ên Ê-nu-šub there is *no equivalent* in *CT*, XXIV, 14. For this reason, if for no

<sup>1</sup> Not the sign Ên, "lord" but Ên (*šiptu*) "incantation."



other, *CT*, XXIV, 27, 7, cannot be used to restore *CT*, XXIV, 42, 114, 137, the parallel text to which is, as we have seen, *CT*, XXV, 48, with lines 1-9 of the latter corresponding to lines 108-16 of the former.<sup>1</sup>

From all this it follows (*a*) that line 114 of *CT*, XXIV, 42, has its equivalent in line 7 of *CT*, XXV, 48, and (*b*) that it is entirely quite out of the question that we should have in column *a* of this line the signs for an incantation heading, known as <sup>d</sup>*Ên Ê-nu-šub*. The certain restoration of column *c* as *ša pa-ḫa-[rī]* is a decisive factor against any such supposition; for this shows that we *must* have in column *a* some writing to indicate Ea as the potter.

There is, however, another passage in the text, to wit, *CT*, XXIV, 43, line 122, in which we may with certainty supply <sup>d</sup>*Ên Ê-nu-šub*. This Langdon has *entirely* overlooked. In line 122 we have not only in column *a* . . . *nu-šub* but the traces of the preceding *Ê*; and besides in columns *b-c* we have as the equivalent =<sup>d</sup>*Ea ša a-ši-pi*, i.e., "Ea of Incantation" or "Exorcism," which is *exactly* what we would expect as the equation of

$$[{}^d\hat{E}n] \hat{E}\text{-}nu\text{-}\acute{s}ub = {}^dEa \acute{s}a a\text{-}\acute{s}i\text{-}pi.^2$$

This of itself would not prove that *Ên Ê-nu-šub* is to be read *ašipu*, but it does prove that this Sumerian designation was looked upon as a formula for incantation texts, to serve as a designation of Ea in his well-known capacity as the god of incantation rites. Remembering that we have so frequently in incantation texts the phrase

$$Nam\text{-}\acute{s}ub \text{ } nun\text{-}ki\text{-}ga \text{ } u\text{-}me\text{-}ni\text{-}sum,^3$$

i.e., *ši-pat Eridu i-di-ma* "Throw (or 'recite') the incantation of Eridu" (i.e., of Ea), with several variants,<sup>4</sup> it is a plausible conjecture in view of the equation

$${}^d\hat{E}n \hat{E}\text{-}nu\text{-}\acute{s}ub = {}^dEa \acute{s}a a\text{-}\acute{s}i\text{-}pi$$

<sup>1</sup> After this line the two texts deviate in the order of the enumeration of the designations or epithets of Ea, l. 10 of *CT*, XXV, 48=l. 121; l. 11=l. 120; l. 12=l. 130; l. 13=l. 131(?); l. 14=l. 132; l. 15=l. 118; l. 19=128(?); l. 20=l. 127; l. 21=l. 125; l. 22=l. 122. Rm. 483 (*CT*, XXV, 47) continues *CT*, XXV, 48.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *CT*, XXV, 48, 22=*CT*, XXV, 47 (Rm. 483). <sup>d</sup>*Ên Ê-nu-šub* is, therefore, to be supplied likewise in column *a* of these two texts.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., *CT*, XVI, 21, 204-5 and 250; *CT*, XVII, 15, 23; *CT*, XVII, 18, 12-13; *CT*, XVII, 24, 234-35; *CT*, XVII, 30, 37; *CT*, XVII, 5, 29-30, and 25-26 (*ba-an-sum=id-di*, here as the incantation of Marduk, son of Ea).

<sup>4</sup> E.g., *id-di* (*CT*, XVI, 32, 142 and XVII, 5, 25-26); *CT*, XVI, 5, 193-94 *sum-mu-da-mu-ne=ina na-di-e-a*; *CT*, XVI, 1, 6-7 *mu-un igi-in-sum-ma-ta=ina na-di-e-a*;



to regard <sup>d</sup>*En E-nu-šub* as a general designation of incantation texts in which Ea is invoked. A study of the occurrence of the phrase in question actually shows that it is so used.

Since Scheil<sup>1</sup> first called attention to texts introduced by this formula, quite a number have turned up. Brummer<sup>2</sup> gave a tentative translation of an *E-nu-šub* text (reading correctly *šub* and not *ru*) and recognized its general character as a formula associated with the exorcising ritual of Eridu. He also saw that *šub* = *nadû*, "throw," but erroneously supposed that the throwing referred to "the throwing of fire,"<sup>3</sup> used in the exorcising ceremony, whereas the 'throwing' is the sprinkling of water on the one to be released from the clutches of the demon. There are three *E-nu-šub* texts included in Zimmern's *Sumerische Kultlieder aus Altbabylonischer Zeit*, Nos. 189, 190, and 193, and there are three in Dr. H. F. Lutz's latest volume.<sup>4</sup> All of these are in Sumerian, and the close association with Ea is likewise evidenced in them either by the occurrence of the well-known dialogue between Ea and Marduk in which Ea tells his son that the latter knows as much as the father does and directs him to proceed with the task of freeing the victim,<sup>5</sup> or by some other reference to Ea as the god of Eridu.<sup>6</sup> That the phrase had acquired a

*CT*, XVI, 22, 302, *Nam-šub na-ri-ga ne-in sum = šip-tum ellitum ina na-di-e-a*; *CT*, XVII, 12, 31-32. *Nam-šub nun-ki-ga na-ri-ga u-me-[ni-sum] = šip-tum ellitum i-di-šum*; *CT*, XVII, 5, 25-30 (*šipat absi* and *šipat Eridu i-di-ma*, etc. By the side of *Nam-šub*, we also find in incantation texts the sign *Tu* (Brünnow, No. 781), i.e., *pū ellu* = "pure mouth" = *šiptu*, e.g., *CT*, XVI, 45, 144, and 176 (*Tu-maš = šiptu qirtu*). That this use of *Tu* also was associated with "throwing" is shown by use of the sign in the combination of *Uš Tu = ni-id ru-u-ti*, i.e., "throwing of spittle." See Brünnow, No. 780, and Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 647b. Note also the phrase *ru'tum naditum* (*CT*, XVII, 32, 15-17) with *Dûg* (= *šiptu*) as the Sumerian equivalent for *nadû*.

<sup>1</sup> *Recueil des Travaux*, etc., XXII, 160. At first the three signs were regarded by Scheil and others as Semitic and read *bīt nu-ru*, "house of light," but the impossibility of such an interpretation was soon recognized, when it was seen that the combination occurred in Sumerian texts, quite apart from the fact that we would expect *bīt nu-ri* as the proper Semitic phrase.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 214-27.

<sup>3</sup> See below. Brummer took the second sign in *Nam-ne-šub = mamitu* (Brünnow, No. 2178) "exorcism," or *šiptu* (Brünnow, No. 2180) as "fire," whereas it is clearly the prefix to the verb. The case is of course different in such a passage as *CT*, XVII, 19, 21-22, *izi šub-bu-da-gim = kima ša ina i-ša-ti na-du-u* "like what is thrown into the fire" where *izi = išatu* and *šub = nadû*.

<sup>4</sup> *Sumerian and Babylonian Texts* (Publications of the Babylonian Section of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Vol. I, 2), Nos. 107, 123, and 127.

<sup>5</sup> So in Zimmern, *op. cit.*, No. 193.

<sup>6</sup> So Zimmern, *op. cit.*, No. 190.



general force as an incantation formula, because of the predominating part which Ea, as the god of water *par excellence*, played in exorcising rites is to be concluded from the circumstance that in No. 127 of Lutz's text *Ê-nu-šub* occurs as a heading (Obv. col. 1, 1) to the name of the series *Utukki limnuti* (l. 2) to which the text in question belongs. It is also introduced as the heading to subdivisions of the series (e.g., col. 3, 20) and is to be supplied in col. 5, 32.

It is, therefore, clear that the phrase is a *general* one to indicate an incantation to be recited in the name of Ea, which would explain the fact that with the determinative for deity before it, *Ên Ê-nu-šub* is equated with *Êa ša ašîpi*, i.e., Ea as the god of incantation. *Nu-šub* in the combination appears, therefore, to have the same force as *Nam-šub* in the conventional phrase, *Nam-šub nun-ki-ge u-me-ni-sum* and its variants as above pointed out. I owe to Dr. Lutz the further suggestion that *Nu-šub* may *actually* be regarded as a variant to *Nam-šub*. Bearing in mind that *Nam* is the sign for the abstract (in Emesal texts *na-am*),<sup>1</sup> as well as the negative in Sumerian, there is no inherent reason why *Nu* as the negative should not also have been used as a prepositive particle to designate abstract words. In fact, *Nam* appears to have arisen from *nu+am*,<sup>2</sup> as a more emphatic negative particle.<sup>3</sup> In this way we could account for the form *Na* as the negative particle by the side of *Nu*, which would be a derivative form by analogy from *Nam* by the omission of the *am*.<sup>4</sup> A further ground for thus associating *Nu* and *Nam* is to be found in the occurrence of the form *nu-um-me* as the negative by the side of *Nam* and, correspondingly, we also have in a text included in Dr. Lutz's new volume (p. 69 and n. 167 on p. 108) an instance of *nu-um* as the prepositive particle to indicate an abstract instead of *Nam*. If, therefore, we can have *Nam* and *Num* either as negatives or as prepositives for abstract formations, there is no reason why we should not also have *Nu* to form abstract nouns as well as negative particles;<sup>5</sup> and some day we may come across *na* used in the same way as a

<sup>1</sup> Delitzsch, *Sumerische Grammatik*, § 59.

<sup>2</sup> *Am* = "to be."

<sup>3</sup> As in Arabic *lam* by the side of *la*.

<sup>4</sup> Delitzsch (*Sumerische Grammatik*, § 59, 2) assumes two negative particles *Nu* and *Na*, and derives the prepositive *Nam* from *Na* by the addition of *am*.

<sup>5</sup> May not the *Nu* in *Nu-gigu* = *Kadištu*, "sacred prostitute" (Brünnow, No. 2017) be thus accounted for, since feminine and abstract nouns are formed in the same way? *Nu-gig!* = *gadištu*. *Gig* = the sign for sickness (Br. 2017). *Nu-nunuz* = *pirištu* (Br. 2012);



prepositive for abstracts by the side of its use as a negative particle. If then

$$Nu-šub = Nam-šub = šiptu,$$

this would give us as the Akkadian equivalent to

$$Ê-nu-šub = bît šipti$$

and Ên Ê-nu-šub would therefore designate as *šipat bît šipti* an incantation rite in the name of Ea and carried out, at least originally, in the *bît šipti*, i.e., "house of incantation," *Bît šipti* would, therefore, be a designation of a part of Ea's temple in which such ceremonies of exorcising demons would be conducted. The phrase once having acquired a technical meaning, it would be applied as the designation of any incantation text,<sup>1</sup> irrespective of the place where the actual ceremony took place, whether in a part of the temple or at the sick man's bed.<sup>2</sup>

The use of *Nam-šub* and *Nu-šub* as *šiptu*, 'incantation,' is to be explained as a 'throwing' or 'sprinkling' of water over the one to be freed from the clutch of demons. This is the common meaning of the sign *šub* = *nadd*<sup>3</sup> and we fortunately have by the side of the conventional phrase

*Nam-šub* ..... *sum*

i.e.,

*šiptu* ..... *ûli*

the full phrase *CT*, XVII, 21, 86-87:

*a nam-šub muḥ-na u-me-ni-sum*

*mê šip-ti e-li-šu i-di-ma*

"Throw the water of incantation over him"

and *sinništu* (Br. 2013). Besides, there is one passage (Langdon, *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, No. 2, l. 36) in which *Nu-nunuzu* appears to be used for the abstract form "childhood" rather than for "woman." I owe this reference to Dr. Lutz. In Langdon's copy of the text the sign *nunuz* is carelessly omitted.

<sup>1</sup> This would account for the fact that in some texts, as e.g., in a medical tablet, of the neo-Babylonian period (*Recueil des Travaux*, XXII, 140, subsequently published in full by Langdon *Historical and Religious Texts from the Temple Library of Nippur*, No. 56), the Ên Ê-nu-šub (Rev. 4) is found with prescriptions against poisons, such prescriptions retaining their original character as exorcising rites to drive the demon out of the body. The same is the case in No. 107 of Lutz's volume which is an incantation against rheumatism. Similarly, Ên Ê-nu-šub appears as the heading of a prayer (which was always designated as Ên = *šiptu*) to Nebo, e.g., King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, Nos. 20, 35, by the side of Ên Ê-a-tu (or Êu-naq) = *bît rimki* (Brünnnow, No. 7156), which is therefore the "bathhouse" for the purification bath after the exorcising rites have been performed, and of which the *mikveh* in orthodox Judaism is the direct descendant.

<sup>2</sup> In the Pentateuchal Codes we have, similarly, exorcising rites carried out by the priest to whom the one to be cured comes, by the side of rites carried out in the sanctuary to which, therefore, the patient goes. See, for example, Lev. 14:3, as against 14:11.

<sup>3</sup> Brünnnow, No. 1434, and Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar*, p. 267.



or IV R<sup>2</sup>. 25, 52-53:

*a nam-šub ka-su ba-an-sum-mu*  
*me-e šip-ti ana pi-ka i-d-di*

"The waters of incantation, at thy command he threw."

This clearly explains the reason for the use of *šub* in the combination *Nam-šub*, and *Nu-šub*, as it also settles the reading of the second sign in this combination as *Šub* and not *Ru*.<sup>1</sup> The verb used with the phrase *Nam-šub*, etc., in incantation texts is generally *Sum*, but we have at least one passage, *CT*, XVII, 39, 57-58, where we actually have *Šub* as a variant to *Sum*

[*Nam-šub dūg-*] *ga-su u-me-ni-šub*  
*ši-pat-ka ta-ab-lu i-di-ma*

"Thy good incantation throw."

To clinch the matter that the 'throwing' refers to the sprinkling of water on the one to be released from the demon, we have the same sign *Sum* equated with *šalāhu*, "sprinkle," in *CT*, XVII, 31, 37:

*a-bi lù-gâl-lu u-mu-e-ni-sum<sup>2</sup>*

*a-me-lu šu-lu<sup>3</sup> ma*, i.e., "Sprinkle the man."<sup>3</sup>

*Sum*, the common meaning of which is *nadānu* is thus used for *nadū*, "throw," and *šalāhu*, "sprinkle." The phrase *šipta nadū*, naturally, acquired the general force of to "pronounce" an incantation which accompanied the ceremony of throwing or sprinkling water over a sick man. Instead of *Sum* or *Šub*, we therefore also find the verb *Šid* = *manū*, "recite," e.g., *CT*, XVII, 31, 33:

*Nam-šub nun-ki-ga u-mu-e-ni-šid*

Lastly, as a variant to *Šub*, we find several times the sign *išib* (Brünnow, No. 11553)<sup>4</sup> e.g., *CT*, XVII, 32, 5.

<sup>1</sup> Langdon at one time proposed to read *Ē-sir-ru* (*Babyloniaca*, III, 27) and translated it "house of light." Subsequently, he abandoned this reading and read *Ē-nu-ru* and rendered this into Akkadian as *bit la kuppuri*, "house not purified" (*Historical and Religious Texts* [Munich, 1914], p. 70). At that time he opposed the suggestion of Brummer to read *Ē-nu-šub*. Once more in the article quoted above, p. 51, he changed his mind and now wavers between *Šub* and *Sub*, though the sign in question has *only* the value *Šub*. He still clings to his translation "house not purified," but it is to be remarked that the passage to which he refers in the *Revue d'Assyriologie* (XII, 36, l. 13) *does not bear on the case in any way*. *Nu su-ub-ša* = "not cleansed" or "purified" has nothing whatsoever to do with *Šub*. In assuming for the latter a meaning of "atonement" Langdon goes utterly astray. An interpretation for *Ē-nu-šub* as "house of non-atonement" is for this reason entirely out of the question, besides giving no good sense. Langdon is guilty of the same confusion between *Sub* = "throw" and *Sub* = "cleanse" in the note (*Historical and Religious Texts*, p. 70, n. 5) attached to his discussion of *Ē-nu-šub*. *Šub* means, as shown throughout this article, "to throw," whereas *Su-ub* is the common Sumerian stem for "to cleanse" (see Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar* p. 248, under III).

<sup>2</sup> The Sumerian *a . . . . sum* literally "give water."

<sup>3</sup> As a further synonym we have *Sum* = *malū*, "fill," *CT*, XVII, 31, 30 (*a u-me-ni-sum* = *me-e mul-li*, "fill with water").

<sup>4</sup> Sb 139 shows that the Sumerian reading for the sign is *i-ši-ib* from which *išib*, which occurs as the common phonetic value in Akkadian texts is clearly an abbreviation.



*a nam-išib-ba u-me-ni šú-nag.*

"Water of Incantation pour out"

where the verb *šú-nag*<sup>1</sup> furnishes incidentally another proof that we are to read *Šub* = "throw, sprinkle, pour, wash," etc. (and not *Ru*) in *Nam-šub* as well as in *Nu-šub*. In Zimmern's *Sumerische Kultlieder*, No. 190 (*Ên Ê-nu-šub* text), we also encounter *Obv.*, line 16:

*lù nam-išib-(ba)ge*  
*nam-išib um-ma-sum,*

"Let the exorcising priest recite the incantation."<sup>2</sup>

The Sumerian *išib* is not, therefore, the designation of a "libation priest," as Delitzsch (*Sumerisches Glossar*, p. 29) assumed, but an exorcising priest who throws or "sprinkles" water over a victim or a diseased individual; and this would suggest that the Akkadian *ašipu* for "exorciser," as also its derivative *šiptu*, reverts to a Sumerian prototype and is therefore to be added to the list of Sumerian loan-words in Akkadian. This would further carry with it that the abstract *Nam-išib* = *iššiputi* (IV R<sup>2</sup>. 25, 54-55a) is an "akkadianized" form of the Sumerian original, and from this point of view is properly entered as a synonym to *šiptu* (Brünnow, No. 10379). The question may therefore be raised whether the Sumerian *iššebu* as a designation for "king,"<sup>3</sup> so common in omen texts, is perhaps the same word as *išib*, designating the king as the exorcising priest. Such a designation would be natural in the days when kingship was closely linked to the position of the king as priest, for which there is such an abundance of evidence in Babylonia. In the ultimate analysis there may also be a connection in Sumerian between the two stems *išib*, perhaps abbreviated in Sumerian already to *šib* and *šub*. It is certainly plausible that *išib* in the sense of exorcising should revert to the act of "throwing" water as the function of the exorcising priest. The *išib* would, therefore, be the thrower; and if this be admitted then *išib* (or *šib*) and *šub* might well be related stems in Sumerian.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Šú-nag* = *ramdaku*, "wash" (Brünnow, No. 7156).

<sup>2</sup> In Akkadian, therefore, *Išib šipta liddi*.

<sup>3</sup> Written with the sign Brünnow, No. 11886 and occurring frequently in Assyrian astrological texts. For examples, see Jastrow, *Religion Babylonians und Assyrians* II, 559, n. 4, and 581, n. 11; also *CT*, 34, 10, 21, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Since this article was written a further *Ê-nu-šub* text has turned up in Ebeling's remarkable collection of *Keilschrift Texte aus Assur, religiösen Inhalts*, No. 38, ll. 9 ff. While this article was in the hands of the printer, my attention was called by Dr. H. F. Lutz to No. 109 of his recent publication, *PBS*, Vol. I, Part 2, in which the strange writing *tu en ni* (read: *i*)-*nu-ri* occurs. The tablet belongs to the Ur- or Isin-period.



# AN IMPORTANT SOCIAL LAW OF THE ANCIENT BABYLONIANS—A TEXT HITHERTO MISUNDERSTOOD

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The British Museum tablet, K. 251, has been long known and often studied. The text of the face is somewhat mutilated, but as long ago as 1866 the text of the reverse was published in *II R.* 10. Lenormant published the whole text in 1873 in his *Choix de textes cunéiformes*, No. 15, pp. 32 ff. Pinches republished it in 1882 in *TSBA*, VIII, 230 ff., and in 1884 in *V R.* pp. 24, 25. The tablet consists of four double columns, two on the obverse and two on the reverse. Half of each double column is written in Sumerian and half in Akkadian, so that the same material, except where parts are broken away, appears in both languages. The subject-matter begins with legal phrases. Nearly all the obverse is occupied with these. Near the bottom of the last column of the obverse a series of regulations dealing with divorce begins. These regulations merge into laws relating to the conduct of a hierodoulos (*nu-gig* = *qadištu*). These are followed by the Sumero-Akkadian family laws which have been published in cuneiform by Delitzsch and elaborately elucidated by Haupt and others. The parts of the tablet outside these "family laws" have been but imperfectly understood. The part which refers to the divorce of a hierodoulos and her subsequent liberties and obligations has been so misunderstood as to have received the most astonishing interpretations. The most important of these interpretations will be catalogued below in the notes which accompany each line of the translation here given.

The tablet, as the colophon informs us, was one of a series which formed the *vade mecum* of a judge or of a legal scribe. The colophon reads:

1. *dub vii kam ki ki-kal-bi-šu*<sup>1</sup>

Tablet VII of "Which-is-  
(to-be)-with-him";

1. *a-na it-ti-šu*

"To (be) with him";

<sup>1</sup> The general meaning of *ki ki-kal-bi-šu* was recognized by Bertin as long ago as 1882; cf. *TSBA*, VIII, 258 ff. Weber, *Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrier*, 250, quotes the Akkadian title of the series, *a-na it-ti-šu*, but without indicating that he understood the meaning of it.



- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 2. <i>gab-ri-kur aššur ki-dim til</i><br>Like the Assyrian exemplar<br>complete. | 2. <i>šu ša-tar-malim-gur</i><br>It is written and verily agrees<br>(with the exemplar). |
| 3. <i>ekallu il aššur-bani-apla</i><br>Palace of Ashurbanipal,                   |  |
| 4. <i>šar kiššatu šar matu il aššur ki</i><br>King of hosts, king of Assyria.    |  |

It begins with all sorts of phrases and gradually merges into connected laws. Perhaps the tablet was written by a novice, for occasionally his Akkadian lines do not correspond with his Sumerian lines. At least one Sumerian phrase is left untranslated—a fact that has caused perplexity to modern lexicographers.

Here are some samples of the phrases with which the two double columns on the obverse of the tablet are, with the exception of a few lines at the end, filled:

Col. i:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>à-kuš-šd-a</i><br>Maintenance.                                      | 1. <i>ma-na-aḥ-tu</i> <sup>1</sup><br>Maintenance.                           |
| 2. <i>à-kuš-šd-a-ni</i><br>His (or her) maintenance.                      | 2. <i>ma-na-aḥ-la-šu</i><br>His (or her <sup>2</sup> ) maintenance.          |
| 3. <i>à-kuš-šd-a-ni in-gar</i><br>Her maintenance he provides.            | 3. <i>ma-na-aḥ-la-šu iṣ-ku-un</i><br>Her maintenance he provides.            |
| 4. <i>à-kuš-šd-a-ni in-gar-ri</i><br>Her maintenance he shall<br>provide. | 4. <i>ma-na-aḥ-la-šu i-šak-ka-nu</i><br>Her maintenance he shall<br>provide. |
| 5. <i>à-kuš-šd-a-nu-šu</i><br>For her maintenance.                        | 5. <i>a-na ma-na-aḥ-tu-šu</i><br>For her maintenance.                        |
| . . . . .   |  |
| 29. <i>di-til-la</i><br>A complete judgment (or<br>case).                 | 29. <i>di-i-nu ga-am-ru</i><br>A complete judgment (or<br>case).             |
| 30. <i>di nu-til-la</i><br>An incomplete judgment (or<br>case).           | 30. <i>di-i-nu la ga-am-ru</i><br>An incomplete judgment (or<br>case).       |

<sup>1</sup> Bertin, *TSBA*, p. 247, takes the phrase to mean "rest" and so misses the point. It means "provision," "maintenance"; cf. Muss-Arnolt, 62a; it was a term which entered into marriage contracts.

<sup>2</sup> The Sumerian *-ni* may mean either "his" or "her." The scribe has employed in the Akkadian translation only the masculine *šu*. Obviously in the use of the word in contracts the maintenance of a woman is more often referred to than that of a man, hence *ša* would have been more appropriate.



- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 31. <i>di-bi al-til</i><br>His judgment (or case) is complete.                     | 31. <i>di-in-šu ga-mi-ir</i><br>His judgment (or case) is complete.                     |
| 32. <i>di-bi nu-al-til</i><br>His judgment (or case) is incomplete.                | 32. <i>di-in-šu la ga-mi-ir</i><br>His judgment (or case) is incomplete.                |
| 33. <i>di-bi kud-da</i><br>His case is decided.                                    | 33. <i>di-in-šu di-i-nu</i><br>His case is decided.                                     |
| 34. <i>di-bi nu-kud-da</i><br>His case is undecided.                               | 34. <i>di-in-šu ul di-i-nu</i><br>His case is undecided.                                |
| 35. <i>di-bi ba-tib</i><br>His case rests.   | 35. <i>di-in-šu zu-ul-lu-ul<sup>1</sup></i><br>His case rests.                          |
| 36. <i>lù-na-mi egir-a-ni nu-un-kešda</i><br>No one after him shall divide.        | 36. <i>ma-am-man arkat-su ul ip-ru-us</i><br>No one after him shall divide.             |
| 37. <i>lù-sag egir-a-ni nu-un-kud</i><br>A governor after him shall not decide.    | 37. <i>kab-tum arkat-su ul ip-ru-us</i><br>An important man after him shall not decide. |
| 38. <i>lù-na-mi gù-de-a-ni giš-nu-un-tuk</i><br>Verily no one heard his complaint. | 38. <i>ma-am-man a-ma-as-su ul iš-mi</i><br>No one hearkened to his word.               |

These are scattered legal phrases such as a scribe might at any time wish to insert in a contract. He could turn to them in this list and find them in proper form ready to his hand.

Much of the second double column is broken away. At line 18 of the manual one comes upon phrases connected with laws governing marriage and divorce. Soon the phrases have to do with the marriage and divorce of sacred women or hierodoules, and then complete laws relating to such persons are given. The text is as follows (the lines are numbered as in *TSBA*):

*Col. ii:*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 18. <i>nam-dam</i><br>Wifehood.                         | 18. <i>aš-ša-tu</i><br>Wifehood.                          |
| 19. <i>nam-dam-šù</i><br>Unto wifehood.                 | 19. <i>a-na aš-ša-ti</i><br>Unto wifehood.                |
| 20. <i>nam-dam-šù in-tuk</i><br>Unto wifehood he takes. | 20. <i>a-na aš-ša-ti ir-šu</i><br>Unto wifehood he takes. |

<sup>1</sup> *Permansive* from *zaldlu*.



- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 21. <i>nam-dam-šù ba-an-tuk</i><br>Unto wifehood he shall take<br>her.  | 21. <i>a-na aš-ša-ti i-ra-aš-ši</i><br>Unto wifehood he shall take<br>her. |
| 22. <i>nam-dam-šù mi-ni-in-tuk</i><br>Unto wifehood he took her.  | 22. <i>a-na aš-ša-ti ir-šu-ša</i><br>Unto wifehood he took her.            |
| 23. <i>nam-nu-mu-un-zu-a-ni</i> <sup>1</sup><br>Your seed.  | 23. . . . .  |
| 24. <i>mi-ni-in-tuk</i><br>Took possession of her.  | 24. <i>ir-šu-ša</i><br>Took possession of her.                             |
| 25. <i>tur a-šu-šu in-me a-na bi-da-<br/>giš</i><br>His child to full sonship he<br>calls; who shall debar him ? <sup>2</sup> | 25. . . . .  |
| 26. <i>nam-kar-ge-da-a-ni dingir-a-<br/>ni giš</i><br>Her hierodouleship her gods<br>control.                                 | 26. . . . .  |
| 27. <i>nam-kar-ge-da-a-ni ba-ni-in-<br/>tuk</i><br>Her hierodouleship she re-<br>ceived.                                      | 27. . . . .  |
| 28. <i>nam-kar-ge-da-a-ni šu-mi-ib-<br/>gur</i><br>Her hierodouleship verily she<br>renounced,                                | 28. . . . .  |
| 29. <i>e-a-na-aš mi-ni-in-tu</i> <sup>4</sup><br>Into his house she entered.  | 29. <i>a-na biti-šu i-ru-ub</i><br>Into his house she entered.             |

Passing over some broken lines where most of the Sumerian as well as the Akkadian is broken away, the text, when next it is legible, runs as follows:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 39. <i>nig-sal-ge<sup>5</sup> nam-dam-šù ba-ab-<br/>àg-a</i><br>(If) a slave-girl (?) unto wife-<br>hood he shall take, | 39. <i>ar-[da-tum . . . . .</i><br>A slave-girl. . . . . |
|---|--|

<sup>1</sup> *su-a-ni* (II, 23) is a variant of *su-e-ne-ni* (cf. Delitzsch, *Sum. Gram.*, p. 26), the suffix form of the second personal plural pronoun.

<sup>2</sup> This line (II, 25) puzzled the early translators. It apparently refers to a father's recognition of the child of a slave-girl as one of his children and therefore as a legal heir. Provision for such recognition is found in the Code of Hammurabi, sec. 170.

<sup>3</sup> *nam-kar-ge-da* (II, 26, 27, 28) means hierodouleship. *kar-ge* = *harimtu* (VR, 42, 63e) and *harimtu* is one of the terms for hierodoule employed, as all Assyriologists will remember, in the Gilgamesh epic. *nam* is the well-known abstract prefix and *da-ti-šu* "approach" is here employed to emphasize the accessibility of the woman as a hierodoule.

<sup>4</sup> Lines 28 and 29 belong together. They are phrases that would be employed in a contract of marriage when the bride had been a hierodoule.

<sup>5</sup> *nig-sal-ge* is an unusual ideogram for slave-girl, but the defaced Akkadian text begins with *ar-*, apparently the beginning of *ar-da-tum*, a meaning demanded by the context.



- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 40. <i>uš-ba-šù šì¹ ba-ab-da</i><br>with her husband to sleep she<br>shall come. | 40. <i>a-na</i> . . . . .<br>with. . . . .              |
| 41. <i>e-a-na-aš mi-in-kar</i><br>If into his house she entered,                 | 41. <i>a-na</i> . . . . .<br>into . . . . .             |
| 42. <i>e-ad-na-aš mi-in-tu</i><br>unto her father's house (then)<br>returned,    | 42. <i>a-na</i> . . . . .<br>unto . . . . .             |
| 43. <i>gù-šu-x²-a-a-ni ne-in-gar</i><br>his bond he shall keep,                  | 43. <i>ri-ik-[su-šu</i> . . . . .<br>his bond . . . . . |
| 44. <i>nig-sal-uš-di-a ni-in-ùl</i><br>the dowry he shall retain,                | 44. <i>tir-ḥa-as-[su</i><br>her dowry                   |
| 45. <i>kù-dam-tuk</i><br>the dowry.  | 45. <i>tir-ḥa-[as-su</i> . . . . .<br>her dowry         |

A line across the tablet indicates that the subject now slightly changes.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 46. <i>kù-dam-tuk-a-ni ²i³ baššur-ta</i><br>Her dowry on the table | 46. <i>tir-ḥa-as-su³</i><br>Her dowry                          |
| 47. <i>ne-in-gar</i><br>he shall place,                            | 47. <i>pa-aš-šu-ri iš-ku-un⁴</i><br>on the table he shall set, |
| 48. <i>ad-da-na-aš</i><br>unto her father                          | 48. <i>a-na a-bi-šu</i><br>unto her father                     |
| 49. <i>in-na-an-tu</i><br>he shall return her.                     | 49. <i>ú-ša-rib</i><br>he shall cause (her) to enter.          |

Again a line across the tablet indicates another change of subject.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 50. <i>a ne-in-gi⁵</i><br>(Of) a son she is delivered to<br>him.          | 50. <i>iq-tap-šu</i><br>(Of a son) she is delivered to<br>him.        |
| 51. <i>a nu li ne-in-gi</i><br>(Of) a son she is not delivered<br>to him. | 51. <i>ul iq-tap-šu</i><br>(Of a son) she is not delivered<br>to him. |

¹ Cf. Barton, *OBW*, 412<sup>11</sup>, and Reisner, *Sum. Hymnen*, 92a, 27.

² *OBW*, 53. Perhaps used here phonetically; perhaps as an adjective. As the Akkadian is broken away its exact significance is not clear.

³ *su*, though masculine in form, evidently refers to the bride. Hierodoules in grammatical structure regularly agree with masculine forms of the verb, and are referred to either by feminine or masculine pronouns. One has to keep this constantly in mind in interpreting the lines which follow this.

⁴ It is not clear what the significance of placing the dowry on the table was. Perhaps, like the loosing of the sandal in Deut. 2:9, 10, it was symbolical.

⁵ In lines 50 and 51 the sense ceases to be connected and the text returns to mere phrases. These are, however, related to the general context, since they relate to whether or not a hierodoule does or does not, when married, present her husband with a son; cf. Code of Hammurabi, secs. 144, 145. Line 52 presupposes line 51. It explains the cause of his aversion.



- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 52. . . . . <i>ne-in-gig</i><br>. . . . . he is sick of her, | 52. <i>i-zi-ir-ši-ma</i><br>He hates her and   |
| 53. . . . .  | 53. <i>amilu hiš-šu-ta-ša ib-tuk</i><br>the man the enjoyment of her<br>has cut off, |
| 54. . . . .  | 54. <i>ú-zu-ub-bu-šu</i> <sup>1</sup><br>he shall divorce her;                       |

*Reverse double column i:*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>kù-dam-tuk-a-ni in-na-an-ši</i> <sup>2</sup><br>her divorce he shall take,                        | 1. <i>ú-zu-bu-šu i-ši-í-ma</i><br>her divorce he shall take and                     |
| 2. <i>úr-ra-na-nam ne-in-kesda</i> <sup>3</sup><br>on her loins shall bind it,                          | 2. <i>i-na su-ni-šu ir-ku-us</i><br>on her loins shall bind it,                     |
| 3. <i>e-ta ib-ta-an-é</i> <sup>4</sup><br>from the house he shall expel<br>her.                         | 3. <i>ina biti ú-ši-ši-šu</i><br>from the house he shall expel<br>her.              |
| 4. <i>ud-kur-šu dam šag-ga-a-ni</i> <sup>5</sup><br>forever the husband of her<br>heart                 | 4. <i>a-na ma-ti-ma mu-ul lib-bi-šu</i><br>forever the husband of her<br>heart      |
| 5. <i>še-ni-ib-tuk-tuk</i> <sup>6</sup><br>verily she may take;   | 5. <i>i-šu-uz-su</i><br>she may take;   |
| 6. <i>inim-ma nu-mu-un-ši-in-gà-gà</i> <sup>7</sup><br>a legal claim he shall not bring<br>against her. | 6. <i>ú-ul i-ra-ág-gu-um-ši</i><br>he shall not bring a legal claim<br>against her. |

<sup>1</sup> Again the masculine suffix because it refers to a hierodoule. All these phrases are taken out of a lost marriage and divorce law which related to this class of women. From this text we can reconstruct the law.

<sup>2</sup> This line Sayce rendered: "A certain man's brother-in-law hired (workmen)" (*RP*, III, 23); Oppert: "Repudium suum lapide expressit" (*Doc. jur.*, p. 55); Bertin: "Her dowry he gave him" (*TSA*, VIII, 253).

<sup>3</sup> Sayce rendered: "and on his foundation built an enclosure"; Oppert: "In pectore ligavit"; Bertin: "in his girdle he bound it." *úr-sunu*, while literally "loins," may refer to the girdle, but it is the girdle of the hierodoule, not of the husband. The masculine pronoun here again refers to the hierodoule. The "divorce" that was bound about her waist is the "writing" which in col. III (reverse col. I), line 19, she is, under certain contingencies, to make known.

<sup>4</sup> Sayce rendered this line: "from the house (the judge) expelled him"; Oppert: "ex domo eject"; Bertin: "from the house he makes him go." It is clear, however, that it is the divorced hierodoule who is expelled from her husband's house. The translators were confused by the masculine form of the pronominal suffix which refers to her.

<sup>5</sup> Sayce rendered: "In every case let a married man put his child"; Oppert: "Ad futurum conjugum cordis sui"; Bertin: "in future the husband whose heart—"

<sup>6</sup> Sayce read: "in possession of property"; Oppert: "amato alter"; Bertin: "she possesses."

<sup>7</sup> Sayce rendered: "provided that he does make him inhabit it." Oppert: "spithamæ non item intendo (?)" and the Akkadian: "spithamæ ne spatio quidem accede"; Bertin: "he does not renounce her." None of them understood the bearing of the legal term *ragámu*, "to bring a legal claim."



- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 7. <i>egir-bi-la-ám nu-gig-ám</i> <sup>1</sup><br>(If) afterward as a hierodoule                             | 7. <i>ar-ka-nu qa-di-iš-tum</i><br>(If) afterward as a hierodoule                 |
| 8. <i>sila-ta ba-an-da-il-la</i> <sup>2</sup><br>on the street she is found,                                 | 8. <i>ina su-qi im-il-ta-ši</i><br>on the street she is found,                    |
| 9. <i>šag-ki-äg-a-ni-ta nam-nu-gig-a-ni</i> <sup>3</sup><br>in the place of her choice her<br>hierodouleship | 9. <i>aš-ra-aš-šu</i><br>in her place   |
| 10. <i>in-ni-in-tuk-tuk</i> <sup>4</sup><br>she shall practice.  | 10. <i>qa-aš-du-us-su i-ḥu-uz-su</i><br>her hierodouleship she shall<br>practice. |
| 11. <i>nu-gig-ga-bi tur-sila-ám</i> <sup>5</sup><br>If as a hierodoule a child of<br>the street              | 11. <i>qa-di-iš-ta . . . ma-ru</i><br>(If) as a hierodoule a child                |
| 12. <i>mi-ni-in-ri</i> <sup>6</sup><br>she adopts,   | 12. <i>ina šu-qi[il-li]-ku</i><br>on the street she adopts,                       |
| 13. <i>ubur ga na[m-zi]</i> <sup>7</sup><br>(her) breast the milk of life                                    | 13. . . . .   |

<sup>1</sup> This line Sayce rendered: "For the future (the judge) may cause a sanctuary"; Oppert: "Ad futurum moecha sola"; Bertin: "afterwards a sanctuary"; Haupt (JAOS, 38<sup>n</sup>): "Thereupon a harlot."

<sup>2</sup> Sayce translated "to be erected in a private demesne"; Oppert: "per vias urbis vagetur"; Bertin: "in the yard he raises"; Haupt: "from the street he took." All have overlooked the fact that the subject of the verb is the hierodoule, who, as is common with her kind and their goddess, Ishtar, takes a masculine form of the verb. Moreover the verb, both in the Sumerian and the Akkadian, is passive in form. In *ba-an-da-il-la* the *da* introduces a reflexive or passive idea (cf. Langdon, *Sumerian Grammar*, p. 146) and the *i* in *im-il-ta-ši* from *mašú* "to find" has the same force.

<sup>3</sup> Sayce rendered: "(A man) of his sanctuary in his own high place"; Oppert: "In amore suo fornicationem"; Bertin: "with his heart loving holiness"; Haupt: "in his love despite her harlotry." All have missed the point of the line. *šag-ki-äg-a-ni-ta* means "in the midst of the place she likes" or "chooses," i.e., anywhere on the street. The Akkadian *aš-ra-aš-šu* is for *ina aš-ri-šu*, "in her place" (cf. Lyon, *Assyrian Manual*, sec. 20), i.e., the place she may choose. Again the translators have been confused by the reference of the masculine suffix to the hierodoule.

<sup>4</sup> Sayce rendered: "has full possession"; Oppert: "exercebit"; Bertin: "he possessed"; Haupt: "and married her." Oppert has most correctly rendered the verb. While it normally means "possess" and may mean "marry," the context here shows that the subject is the divorced hierodoule and that it refers to the practice of her profession on the street.

<sup>5</sup> Sayce rendered: "The sanctuary (a man) has raised to the son who"; Oppert: "Moecham istam solam iudex pluvio"; Bertin: "in his holy place the son of the yard." The construction of the line and its meaning are, however, now clear.

<sup>6</sup> The sign *ri* = *laqú* "take" (cf. *OBW*, 93<sup>u</sup>, and *II R*, 9, 3) is regularly employed in adoption contracts for "adopt"; cf. *Bab. Exp. of the Univ. of Penna.*, VI<sup>1</sup>, No. 24). Similarly *laqú* is employed in many Akkadian contracts; cf. e.g., *Vorderasiatische Schrift-denkmäler*, VIII, 127. The point of this provision of the law is that the hierodoule, while practicing her profession on the street, may legally adopt a child who is a waif of the street. Sayce rendered "inherits"; Oppert: "exponat"; Bertin: "he shall place."

<sup>7</sup> *ga na[m-si]* is completed from many passages in the royal inscriptions. It was a conventional phrase, though in the earlier inscriptions the abstract *nam* is often omitted; cf. *CT*, IX, Nos. 85977-80, and *OBI*, 87, i, 28. I have completed the phrase as though



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|--|----------------------------|
| 14. <i>in-ni-[in-ru]</i> <sup>1</sup><br>shall give to it;   | 14. . . . .                |
| 15. <i>ad-a-ni ša ama-a-ni nu-[gu-gal-<br/>la]</i> <sup>2</sup><br>its father and its mother shall<br>have no claim to it. | 15. . . . .                |
| 16. <i>sal mi-in-dug-ga</i> <sup>3</sup><br>(If) the woman conceive,   | 16. <i>ru(?)</i> . . . . . |

*nam-si* because *si* is the word used to express "life" in the passages cited, where "life" is descriptive of "milk." When life occurs as an abstract noun alone in early Sumerian texts it is usually *nam-ti-la* (cf. *Découvertes en Chaldée*, p. xlv, Enannatum, I, l. 13; *CT*, XXI, plate 23, l. 10; plate 33, l. 11). Side by side with this we find *nam-ti* (cf. *CT*, XXI, 22, 8; 31, 7; 33, 12). In *CT*, XXI, 9, we find the phrase *ga an-ti-il*. Possibly one of these should be followed in filling the lacuna of our text. Sayce did not attempt to render the line; Oppert translated "serpens in via"; Bertin: "breast milk. . . ."

<sup>1</sup> Oppert, the only one whose work happens to be at hand who attempts a translation of this line, renders it "mordeat"—a guess based on his misunderstanding of the sign for "breast" as "serpent." The signs which are left, *in-ni-*, are evidently the beginning of a verbal form. I have completed the form from II R, 16, 51, 52a, where we find *um-me-da na-a ga ka-ga ib-la-an-ru*, "copulating in bed gives milk in the mouth." The Akkadian column renders *na-a-ku šu-nu-ga u-da-ad-da*, "copulation makes a flow for sucking" (*u-da-ad-da* being connected with the Arabic *د د* "to run fast"). The point of importance to our text is that *ru* is used with *ga* as the Sumerian verb for giving milk to suckle a child. Where was the breast of a hierodoule to obtain the milk to give? The succeeding lines of the law explain that.

<sup>2</sup> In the Code of Hammurabi, sec. 185, it is provided that one may not bring a legal claim for an adopted child, and the word which means "bring a claim" is *baqru* or *paqru*, the Sumerian for which is *gù-gál-la* (Brunnow, 611). Probably *gù-gál-la* should be supplied in the lacuna here. Sayce rendered: "his father and his mother (a man) shall not deny"; Oppert: "pater et mater ejus eum non agnoscat"; Bertin: "his father and his mother not. . . ."

<sup>3</sup> This line is difficult, but the interpretation given in the text is, I believe, right. Sayce translated "A town (a man) has named"; Oppert: "Femina alii suo addicat"; Bertin: "(If) a woman shall speak to him." The Sumerian sign *sal* normally means "woman," but it may stand for the Akkadian *rapāšu*, "be wide" and *rappušu*, "wide." It is unfortunate that the Akkadian version is all broken away, with the exception of a portion of one sign. Pinches in 1882 thought this sign *u* (*TSBA*, VIII). In 1884 *ru* (*V R*, 25). It seems difficult from the Sumerian to believe that either reading is right. Oppert and Bertin were right in rendering *sal* "woman" and Bertin was right in supplying "(If)" at the beginning. What, then, does the verb *mi-in-dug-ga* mean? The verb *dug* may mean "speak" but that does not fit the context. It may also mean *erīšu*, "to distinguish," "be wise" (cf. *OBW*, 154, and Reisner, *Sum. Hymnen*, 45, 17). This is the meaning we need here. "Be wise" is employed like the Latin *concupere*, the English "conceive." The ordinary Akkadian word for "be pregnant" was *eru*, which represented the Sumerian *peš* (*OBW*, 344). That, however, referred to the condition of having the seed of life within one, as the form of the ideogram shows, and would be inappropriate here, for here the emphasis is not on the woman's condition, but upon her cognizance of her condition and the feeling of danger that the recognition of her condition begot in her. A parallel use of *erīšu* is found in Ebelings, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*, No. 117, rev. 6: *šila-ša-mu ummu-šil mur-ša-as-su*, "Lakhamu, his mother conceived him." *mur-ša-as-su*, for *mur-ša-at-šu*, is the feminine part of *erīšu* with a suffix.



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|---|---|
| 17. <i>te-bi nu-ub-ra-aḡ</i> <sup>1</sup><br>her womb she shall not make<br>to flow,                    | 17. <i>li-i[ba-ša ul ú-šar-ḫi-iṣ]</i><br>her womb she shall not cause<br>to flow,   |
| 18. <i>mi-ni-in-dim</i> <sup>2</sup><br>she shall bring it to birth;                                    | 18. <i>ú-[šar-bu-u]</i><br>she shall bring it to birth;                             |
| 19. <i>nam-dup-šar-ra mi-ni-in-zu</i><br><i>zu</i> <sup>3</sup><br>the writing she shall make<br>known, | 19. <i>dup-šar-ru [ú-ša-ad-di]</i><br>the writing she shall make<br>known, .        |
| 20. <i>ša-te-na ne-in-kešda</i> <sup>4</sup><br>the blood of her womb she<br>shall retain,              | 20. <i>ú-ud-di-il</i><br>she shall retain,  |
| 21. <i>dam in-ni-in-tuk</i> <sup>5</sup><br>the woman shall keep it                                     | 21. <i>aš-ša-tum u-ša-ḫi-iṣ-[su]</i><br>the woman shall keep it.                    |
| 22. <i>ud-kur-šù ud-na-me-šù</i><br>Forever unto future days.   | 22. <i>a-na ma-ti-ma a-na ar-ka-[at</i><br><i>úmi]</i><br>Forever unto future days. |

<sup>1</sup> Sayce translated: "Its foundation stone he has not laid"; Oppert: "poena justitiae (exterminatio)"; Bertin: "himself to her going." No one of them has caught the meaning. The Sumerian *te* here = *ššitu* or *ššimtu* "womb" (cf. *OBW*, 330<sup>a</sup>, \*; *II R* 47, 34c, and *CT*, XII, 11, 12a). The verb *ra-aḡ* is the regular verb "to flow" (cf. Delitzsch, *Sumer. Glossar.*, 174). The line is a clear and simple prohibition of prenatal infanticide.

<sup>2</sup> Sayce rendered: "(yet) he (can) change (it)"; Oppert: "non dimoveatur"; Bertin: "he shall withhold himself." The verb *dim* = *rabá*, "be great" (*OBW*, 60<sup>r</sup>, and *II R* 44, 2c) from which we have *tarbá*, "offspring" and *tarbátu*, "offspring" (cf. *OBW*, 60<sup>a</sup>, 1, *V R* 29, 71a, and *CT*, XII, 20, 38276, rev. 6). It is clear, therefore, that the verb here refers to letting the foetus become great, or to making it offspring. I have accordingly rendered "bring it to birth."

<sup>3</sup> This line Sayce rendered: "This imperial rescript must be learnt"; Oppert: "Decretum istud promulgetur"; Bertin: "Inscriptions he shall be taught." *nam-dup-šar-ra* refers to the writing of divorce, which in col. iii (col. i of the reverse), l. 2, was to be bound to the loins of the woman (or in her girdle). If she found herself pregnant she was then to use the divorce as a protection. According to the Code of Hammurabi, sec. 129, the penalty for adultery was to be thrown into the river. As it was known that this woman had been married, she needed the proof of her divorce in order to avert this fate. Doubtless it was the danger that such a fate might be hers that would make her, when she discovered her condition, think of destroying her unborn child, which is forbidden in l. 17.

<sup>4</sup> The renderings of this line are: Sayce: "Everything which a married woman encloses"; Oppert: "Poenam scribat maritus"; Bertin attempts no translation. The Sumerian *sa* = *damu*, "blood" (cf. *OBW*, 118<sup>r</sup>, and *V R*, 41, 56e). When this is recognized, the meaning of the line fits into the context admirably. In the Akkadian column for some reason the scribe omitted to render *ša-te-na*. His *ú-ud-di-il* is only the rendering of *ne-in kešda*. This puzzled Meissner and led him to regard all the Sumerian signs in the line as a compound ideogram for *uddulu-šù!* (Cf. *Seltene assyrische Ideogramme*, No. 1982.)

<sup>5</sup> Sayce translated: "she shall possess"; Oppert: "uxor obediet"; Bertin: "wife he give him." While *dam* does often mean "wife," its original meaning is "woman" and that meaning it has here. The reference is to the divorced hierodule, who forms the subject of this series of laws.



The remainder of the tablet is occupied with the well-known Sumero-Akkadian family laws.

It is apparent from a reading of this text that the *vade mecum* of which this formed a part passed in column ii from general legal phrases to a collection of phrases which had to do with marriage settlements. Line 25 is a phrase referring to the legitimatizing of the children of a man by a slave-girl. Lines 26-29 refer to hierodoules and their entrance into and renunciation of the profession. Lines 30-38 are too broken for translation. Lines 39-49 relate to the marriage and divorce of a slave-girl and the disposition of her marriage-portion. With line 50 the text contains a phrase which would help a scribe to state that a wife (whom the later context and the code of Hammurabi show to have been a hierodoule) had granted her husband a child. Then comes a phrase stating the opposite fact. This is naturally followed by his hate of her, and his divorce of her. Then come regulations as to her treatment. The tablet of divorce is to be bound to her person, and she is to be expelled from his house. She is then free to marry whom she pleases, or she may become a woman of the street. If she chooses the last-mentioned alternative, she may not be disturbed in the practice of her profession. She may adopt a child and have legal control of it. The practice of her profession, it is recognized, exposes her to the danger of maternity. If she is conscious that this contingency is impending, she is to show her tablet of divorce and suffer no harm. She is forbidden to commit prenatal infanticide in order to escape from her situation. These regulations, although they do not begin as formally as the Sumero-Akkadian laws which follow them on the tablet, are, like them, a connected body of law, and are of great interest for the light which they throw upon Babylonian society. Vice was, we learn, legalized, but illegal operations forbidden.



## Critical Notes

### THE ORIGIN OF THE YEZIDIS; A QUESTION OF PRIORITY

In *AJSL*, XXV (1908-9), 111-56; 218-54, Isya Joseph, Ph.D., published an article entitled *Yezidi Texts*. Aside from the texts published and translated the main contribution of the article consisted in pointing out and translating Šahrastānī's section on the Yezidis, which names as their founder Yezīd ibn Unaisa, whom it characterizes as a member of the Hārigite sect. This makes the Yezīdis an extravagant sect of Islam, within which in their origins they were a Hārigite subsect. The same contention is made much of in Isya Joseph's book on *Devil Worship* (Boston, 1919), both in the Introduction, pages 18 ff., which, except for very minor changes and misprints is identical with the article mentioned, and pages 118 ff., which elaborate the statement without adding anything essential (see the review of this book, *AJTh*, XXIII, 552 f.).

In 1850, Theodor Haarbrücker in his *Abu-l-Fath<sup>c</sup> Muh'ammad asch-Schahrastānī's Religionspartheien und Philosophenschulen*, Part I, under the headings "I. Die Chawāridsch. 7. Die Ibādhtja" translated subsection "C. Die Jazīdija" as follows: "Sie sind die Anhänger des Jazīd Ibn Anṣa, welcher sagte, er halte Freundschaft mit den *ersten* Muh'akkima vor den Azārika, und sage sich los von denen nach jenen mit Ausnahme der Ibādhtja, denn mit ihnen halte er Freundschaft. Er glaubte, dass Gotteinen Gesandten aus der Mitte der Perser schicken und ihm ein Buch offenbaren werde, welches bereits im Himmel geschrieben sei, und es ihm als Ganzes mit einen Male offenbaren werde, und dass er das Gesetz Muh'ammads des *Auserwählten* verwerfen und der Religion der im Korān erwähnten Szābia folgen werde; das seien aber nicht die Szābia, welche in Harrān und Wāsit sich fänden. Jazīd hielt aber Freundschaft mit denen von den *Schriftbesitzern*, welche den *Auserwählten* als Propheten anerkannten, wenn sie auch nicht zu seinem Glauben übertraten; und er behauptete, dass diejenigen, welche Strafen unterliegen, seien es Gleichgesinnte mit ihm oder Andere, Ungläubige und Götzendiener seien, und dass jede Sünde, klein oder gross, Götzendienst sei." Where this translation disagrees in points not essential to the main contention with that of Isya Joseph, as guaranteed by George F. Moore's supervision in the *AJSL* article, the reading of Joseph is to be preferred.

Joseph admits that he knows no authority earlier than Šahrastānī as proof for the contention or any part of it. In 1851 Haarbrücker, *libr. laud*,



Part II, p. 378, called attention to "Abu-l-Mutzaffar Tâhir Ibn Muh'ammad al-Isfarâ'ini," died 471 A.H. = 1079-80 A.D., while Šahrastâni was not born until 479 A.H. = 1086-87 A.D. Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. Arab. Lit.*, I, 387, No. 8, prefers the fuller name listed by Haji Khalfa, ed. Fluegel, Vol. II, p. 283, No. 2390: Šahfûr ibn Tâhir. His book is characterized by Haji Khalfa as a small book in fifteen chapters; the nature of its contents is sufficiently clear from its title: "Exposition on the religion (i.e., of course, Islam) and distinction of the sect that is saved from the sects that perish." Haarbrücker used the book in Rödiger's excerpts from the Berlin manuscript (No. 2801, as listed by Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*). Pages 416 ff. Haarbrücker quotes from Bâb 13, fol. 56 ff., of this book to the effect, that "Tâh. al-Isf. führt . . . als solche Sekten [which arose in Islam, but are no longer accounted as belonging to it] ausser den bereits genannten . . . noch folgende auf: . . . [p. 420] Die Jaztdjja von den Chawâridsch."

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#### ETYMOLOGICAL MISCELLANIES

A. Various attempts have been made to account for Greek *κόλυμβος*, (*ις*) Latin *columba*. The word appears to be a fifth-century word, and one of its earliest occurrences is in Aristophanes' *Birds*, page 304. It is there found among the enumeration of eighteen birds, between *κερχνής*, "the common brown-, or screech-owl," and *ἀμπελὶς*, "the Bohemian chatterer." Translators have connected the word with *κόλυμβάω*, "to dive, to plunge headlong," and have rendered it by "the diver." In Latin *columba* (also *palumbes* and *palumbis*) designates "pigeon, ring-dove." Walde sees in the Slavic *golqbl*, "pigeon," a Latin imprint. The Old English *culfre*, *culufre* (English *culture*), is regarded by Berneker, *Slavisches Etymol. Wörterbuch*, page 323, as being borrowed through Celtic from the Middle Latin *columbula*, Romanic *\*columbra*. Prellwitz (*Etymol. Wörterbuch der griech. Sprache*), and others see in *κόλυμβος* an original color-designation, and point in proof of this to Old Prussian *golimban*, "blue," and Russian *goluboj*, "blue." Homer not infrequently mentions the pigeons, but he uses the words *πέλαιαι*, *πελειάδες*. *Κόλυμβος* does not appear to be used earlier than the fifth century. The word occurs in Egyptian, however, much earlier, i.e., at the time of Rameses III in the twelfth century. In Papyrus Harris I, 20, b, it appears for the first time, written *gair pt*. *𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏* i.e., "bird of heaven." In the time of Piankhi, c. 728 B.C., the word occurs again in the graphic form *𓆎𓅓 gr pt* (see, Benson-Gourlay, *Temple of Mut*, 372, 377). There can be little doubt that we have here the original, and that Greek *κόλυμβος* (*ις*) is borrowed from the Egyptian. Coptic preserves the writings *σpOMTE*, *σpΩMTI*, *σpOOMTE*; *σpE*, "aves," *σpO-M-TE* = "bird of heaven." That this







of Semitic *Qoph* is not infrequent. The word *ulg*, therefore, corresponds to Semitic **طلق**, "to run free, to be free, to separate, to loathe"; Ethiopic, "to obliterate, to efface" (i.e., "to make something indistinct, loose, free?, to do away with," same as Arabic (see Dozy and Lane) originally, "to free, to give up, to let drop, to want to do away with"); Aramaic, "to throw, to throw away"; Syriac, "to miss, to disappear, to get lost" (Pa. "to destroy, to remove"). The original or primary meaning: "to remove, to do away with" is everywhere clear. It fits well into the late Egyptian specialized development. I wish to raise the question: Is this Egyptian loan-word to be regarded as an Aramaism, on account of its late occurrence,<sup>1</sup> or has the Egyptian, as so often, preserved the Canaanitic word, which accidentally is lacking?

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<sup>1</sup> Time of Augustus. The orthography, however, makes it probable that the word was introduced into Egypt somewhat earlier.



## Book Reviews

### SCHOOLS AND SCHOLARS OF NIPPUR

The growing accumulation of ancient Babylonian tablets as a part of the museum equipment at various institutions makes the appearance of a volume of such texts a rather common occurrence. Still the number of centers where there are collections and facilities adequate to assure the regular production of such works can be enumerated on the fingers of the hand, and in this respect the Philadelphia Museum, so far, easily ranks first in this country. The output of the Babylonian Section of recent years fully keeps up this reputation.

A volume of ancient personal names has naturally about the same literary attractiveness as a modern hotel register. Dr. Edward Chiera's volume of personal names from Nippur (University of Pennsylvania, *The University Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section*, Vol. XI, 1916) furnishes a notable exception in this respect. Instead of being confronted by an endless list of names, the reader is introduced to what turns out to be a series of school exercises, in reality the ancient copy books of unbaked clay, which the pupils in the temple schools of Nippur used in learning to write Babylonian. There stands the teacher's model text, written with exactness and artistic finish, while beside it as on a double page appears the pupil's cramped and faulty reproduction. On the reverse of these tablets may be found the work of more advanced pupils who wrote without a model, but were still far from perfect in their art. The tablets also show that the beginners who wrote with model texts before them repeatedly erased their own side of the page by smoothing out or paring down the surface so as to utilize the teacher's exercise as many times as possible. These old exercise texts conjure up a scene that for vividness can only be compared with the vision that arises from the sight of a long lost "copy book" of childhood remembrance.

The material of these exercises constitutes the lists of personal names, and they are in themselves of unusual interest, giving as they do a classification of the names according to their linguistic affinities as made by the Babylonians themselves. The editor has arranged them in three groups, which thus constitute the three parts of the volume.

No. 1, "A Syllabary of Personal Names," contains 33 autographed plates of original material, followed by 4 photographic reproductions, illustrating the various kinds of school exercises. An introduction of 30 pages sets forth the essential problems and characteristics of the material.



The lists include an estimated roster of 1,082, but allowances made for lacunae curtail that number to 454, and weathering of the tablets still further reduces the total to 361 names that are complete or that can be completed with some degree of assurance. These are arranged in groups of three, so that each group has a distinctive common element, varying from a grammatical element to assonance in one syllable. The names vary as to language, Akkadian, Amorite, and Sumerian being certainly represented, but almost without exception the separate groups are of the same language. This entire arrangement, as pointed out by the editor, is unique in the case of such lists so far published.

That there is any set purpose on the part of the scribe to give samples of all name formations known to him is not clear, and we should hardly expect it from such exercises. No principle is observable in the order of the groups. Within the groups themselves there are only four clear cases where the common element is not initial. These exceptions may only be due to the fact that the scribe began a fresh group with a name that did not readily suggest another with the same initial element, while the last element proved especially easy to parallel. But immediately in the next group he fell back on his usual principle of putting the common element first. The rather numerous cases where the same initial element reappears in disconnected groups, when taken with the above, indicates the scribe's purpose to be the making of one or more syllables at the beginning of the names in each group a common element, presumably for pedagogical reasons, rather than as showing evidence of any principle of classification, or definite etymological scheme.

The lists are fully worked out in transliteration, and duplicates are tabulated. Translations are given as far as possible.

No. 2, "Lists of Akkadian Personal Names," includes 67 autographed texts. All names are given in transliteration, the Akkadian names being accompanied by translations. Separate glossaries cover the Akkadian and Amorite name elements. The value of the transliterations is considerably enhanced by an accompanying tabulation of name elements as they occur in the same or in other combinations over the entire Semitic field.

The register includes 351 Amorite and 1,234 Akkadian names, but owing to the damaged state of the tablets approximately one-third of the Amorite names are either incomplete or illegible. Over a tenth of the Akkadian names are similarly affected. Part 3 is to contain similar lists of Sumerian names. Dr. Chiera is to be congratulated for his skilful and interesting treatment of these texts.

Volumes X and XII of the same series are by Professor St. Langdon, formerly of the Museum staff. Volume X consists of three parts. No. 1, "The Sumerian Paradise, the Flood and Fall of Man," has been previously reviewed in this *Journal*.

No. 2, "Sumerian Liturgical Texts" (pp. 97+62 plates, 1917) is a respectably sized volume in itself. The texts of this publication are difficult, not



merely because they are diverse in character and written in Sumerian, but also because of the fragmentary condition of a large part of the material. The editor has very commendably undertaken to elucidate the text, but proceeds to do so by seeking to support certain theses from this material. One proposition is that these texts incidentally corroborate his rendering of Vol. X, No. 1, "The Sumerian Paradise, etc." His main thesis is that the texts here published confirm and extend our knowledge of the deification and worship of Sumerian kings. Another thesis posits a great messianic hope in Sumerian times. All of these statements deserve attention. So far as the last is concerned, a careful reading of pages 106-8 makes it clear that the editor is using the term "messianic" in a totally different sense from that employed in the classic usage of the word in Old Testament prophecy. It is virtually the sense that makes every reigning king a messiah or a potential messiah.

As to the cult of deified kings, the exact reasons why some Sumerian kings were deified while still alive, others after they were dead, and still others not at all are not yet sufficiently clear, although the facts are reasonably certain. The phenomena are not at all strange in the history of religion, and the processes leading thereto are comprehensible. How extensive this particular cult was in Babylonia is another matter that requires considerably more investigation, and, specifically, how far the texts under consideration have a bearing on this practice and the cult of Babylonian religion in general requires careful weighing.

Text No. 1 is entitled "An Epical Poem on the Origin of Sumerian Civilization." The text is only a small fragment of a tablet. The reverse is admittedly illegible. The obverse Cols. II and III, ll. 1-7, furnish no sure context. Magan, Meluhha, Dilmun (possibly), Nippur, Eridu, and Sumer are mentioned. Whether Col. III contains a reference to a ship or a flood is doubtful. Col. III, 9 ff. are occupied with the praise of a shrine of Enlil, perhaps in Nippur. That the text contains anything specifically about the origin of Sumerian civilization does not appear. Text No. 6 is called a "Liturgical Hymn Concerning Ur-Engur." The obverse as far as Col. II, l. 20, is too broken to be sure of the meaning. The rest of Col. II commemorates a victory of Ur-Engur. Col. III, l. 20, enumerates the gifts and votive offerings which the king made to the gods as a result. Col. IV is very obscure but seems to deal in part at least with the king's dedication of his offerings. The hymn deals with Ur-Engur as subject rather than object.

Text No. 7 forms the single exception in this volume of a text not from the Nippur collection. It is from the University of Dublin, and entitled "A Liturgical Hymn to Dungi." A poem in laudation of the king it is, but in spite of the divine epithet used of the king, the praise is to a king, not a god. The evidence for a cult of Dungi from this text is exceedingly elusive.



No. 8, called a liturgical hymn to Libit-Ishtar (?), etc., is a composition, so far as it is legible, in commemoration of the founding and decoration of a temple. No. 9, "Liturgy of the Cult of Ishme-Dagan," is a prayer of Ishme-Dagan for a prosperous reign. No. 10, "Hymn of Samsu-iluna to Statues of Lions and His Own Statue," is a poem in dedication of the statues above by the king. No. 14, "Liturgy of the Cult of Ishme-Dagan," is a prayer offered for Ishme-Dagan. No. 16, "A Psalm to a Mythical Musical Instrument, etc.," is a composition explaining the nature and function of the Al instrument used as an accompaniment by the gods.

The religious and liturgical character of this volume on the whole is very pronounced. The texts thus made available to scholars are many and important. The work of editing the same and giving a first rendering is prodigious and deserves all praise. The editor's opinion about the ultimate religious character of the texts is a secondary matter so long as such opinions do not interfere with accuracy of text or fidelity of rendering. The last point is the most serious and in the case of Sumerian texts can only be surely obviated by many approaches to the material in hand from many different angles. If the cathedral atmosphere which permeates the interpretation of this volume does not always square with the material, we may venture to say that there is about the texts at least the religious fervency of the nonconformist chapel.

Vol. X, No. 3 (*The Epic of Gilgamesh* by Stephen Langdon, 1917), is devoted to the text and the interpretation of a tablet originally carrying 240 lines of text, that was purchased by the University Museum in 1914. The tablet is supposed to hail from the ancient city of Erech, and it contains an early copy of a fragment of the Gilgamesh epic. The first column begins at Tablet I, Col. V, l. 25, of the Assyrian version and duplicates that version as far as Tablet I, Col. VI, l. 29. This still leaves five columns of our tablet which give a section of the epic almost entirely unknown before. The most interesting section is perhaps Rev. Cols. II and III. Unfortunately the opening lines in both are too badly mutilated to grasp the precise situation. In Col. II there is preparation for a struggle, and in Col. III Enkidu and Gilgamesh fight. The objective is not clear. The editor's rendering of lines 11 and 16 which makes the heroes fight each other is questionable. Certainly Langdon's assumption that the *motif* here is the renunciation of woman's love in the presence of a great undertaking is exceedingly tenuous. This requires Enkidu to play a rôle he was very ill fitted for. Moreover both Enkidu's previous experience with the heirodule and the outcome of this supposed conflict of the heroes would seem to teach just the opposite lesson from that which Enkidu is supposed to be championing.

The text is followed by two photographic reproductions of the tablet, and this Part is supplied with a glossary to Parts 2 and 3. The importance of this tablet warrants the devotion of a separate Part of the volume to it alone.



Vol. XII, No. 1 (*Sumerian Grammatical Texts*, pp. 44+68 plates, 1917), is in part a continuation of the material of Vol. XI. It is, however, a highly miscellaneous collection, that only by a somewhat violent use of language can be classified as "grammatical texts." Indeed the title gives no adequate idea of its contents. This is not merely because of the variety of grammatical material, but also by reason of other highly diversified kinds of literature included. The vast majority are unbaked school-exercise texts, of grammar grade rather than grammatical in character. Indeed "School Exercise Texts" would have been a much more accurate title. For the sake of clearness, more attention to this feature in the interpretation would have been helpful. This applies especially to No. 7 and helps to explain its heterogeneous material, perhaps also the obscurities in No. 13 are to be accounted for from the same cause. Numbers 5, 7, 9, 11, and 54 are primarily lexicographical. In addition the list includes a Sumerian business document No. 22; a letter of the Cassite period, No. 24; a hymn to Shamash, No. 25; and a Neo-Babylonian contract, No. 44. The material is thus of the greatest variety. Of the purely school exercises, the Sumerian form of  $S^b$  and the fragments of Sumerian laws are striking examples. The supplemental sections which aid in restoring lacunae in previously published tablets are noteworthy, cf. Nos. 16 and 17. In the description of tablets the terms "pupil" and "scholar" are used interchangeably. At any rate the "scholars" of Nippur are not to blame for the ambiguity.

These three volumes will have done much to deepen the sense of reality concerning both the processes and the extent of learning of the scholars of Nippur. Those who have produced these works as well as those who have made them possible are benefactors of their kind.

LEROY WATERMAN

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN





# THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

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THE CHRONICLER'S HISTORY OF THE RETURN  
UNDER CYRUS

BY CHARLES C. TORREY  
Yale University

In an article entitled "The Gap between Ezra, Chapters 1 and 2," in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* for October, 1919, Professor J. A. Bewer discusses some important matters which had been treated by me some years before in my *Ezra Studies*. The main outline of my argument there was as follows: (1) There is a recognized gap in Ezra between chapters 1 and 2, several indispensable details being omitted at this point, including one detail which is expressly alluded to in chapter 3. (2) In "First Esdras," *between these same limits* we find the (gentile) Story of the Three Guardsmen furnished with a Jewish appendix which obviously contains the very things which were seen to be missing in the canonical recension. (3) The interpolator of the Story fashioned this appendix by weaving material of his own composition into that part of the Chronicler's narrative which had followed at this point, thus making an apparently good connection with the latter's history. (4) The Story is not only a foolish interpolation; it is absolutely incompatible with the history in which it stands. (5) The interpolated (and



impossible) recension was for a long time the only one in circulation, as the evidence clearly shows. Finally some one restored order and self-consistency by cutting out the foreign element, the Story. The interpolator, however, had done his work so well that a portion of the Chronicler's original narrative was also excised, of necessity. This *abridged* recension is our canonical Ezra. (6) It is possible to recognize every part of the interpolator's work, and to restore in its entirety the original narrative of the Chronicler.

Professor Bewer, I am glad to see, recognizes both the lacuna in Ezra and the fact that the Story was interpolated in I Esdras—or, at least, in some Jewish narrative; it is not clear to me where and how he would make the connection with I Esdras. To my sincere regret, however, for I should prize his support, he rejects the demonstration by which I have shown how our present texts came into being, and how the original form of the Chronicler's history of the Return from Babylonia can be completely restored. Nevertheless I still have hopes of convincing him. At all events, I shall show that he has misapprehended my argument at some important points, besides misstating, repeatedly, my position in regard to certain minor details. Moreover, since the completion of the *Ezra Studies* (1909) my own views concerning a few incidental matters have undergone some change, the revision being such as to strengthen the argument summarized above, while removing certain difficulties felt by Bewer and doubtless by others.

In combating the view which I am defending, Bewer sets forth the conclusions which he himself has reached, and it is therefore at the outset a question of prime interest how far his own hypothesis accounts for the facts which especially call for explanation. As I have said, he admits both the gap and the interpolation. Does he explain the gap? Not in the least. What is more, he leaves us with *three* gaps instead of one, namely the gap after Ezra 1 and two more of his own discovery in the corresponding part of I Esdras. If he has any clear idea as to why, how, or when the lacuna between the first two chapters of Ezra came into being, he at least gives no hint of it in his article.

Nor is he more fortunate in his treatment of the two gaps which he believes himself to have discovered. The first of these is an



extensive,<sup>1</sup> and, in its details, most astonishing, lacuna between the words "Joachim the son of" and "Zerubbabel" in I Esd. 5:5. He finds himself compelled to suppose that at the beginning of the excision the knife *passed through the middle of a sentence*, leaving certain words hanging in the air; and that at the other end of the excised portion *the same thing happened*, a sentence being cut in two, leaving only an incoherent fragment! The two surviving "fragments," moreover, when pieced together (as they now stand in I Esd. 5:5) yield a ludicrously impossible text, for which however Bewer (himself regarding it as impossible) does not attempt to account, although his theory necessitates the supposition that the excision was deliberate, not accidental.

The second lacuna discovered by Bewer in the I Esdras text is only a few lines farther on, between verses 6 and 7. He offers no conjecture as to its extent, but supposes the "missing" section to have consisted of historical narrative, containing the account of the arrival of the company of Jewish exiles at Jerusalem (p. 21, footnote). The reason for the supposed excision is not stated, nor is it easily imaginable. No evidence of a lacuna here is offered; we are simply asked to believe in it. Finally, the supposed gap at this point is not given any connection with the supposed gap in verse 5, nor does either one stand in any relation to the gap between the first two chapters of Ezra. Bewer, then, rejecting the hypothesis of a single excision whose motive is obvious, postulates three unrelated excisions by two or three different editors (see below), and explains no one of the three. To call this a jump from the frying-pan into the fire is to speak of it too mildly.

Does Bewer explain the interpolation of the Story of the Three Guardsmen? By no means. Here is a popular tale of wit and wisdom appropriated for the hero Zerubbabel and given a superficial connection with the narrative of the Return from the Exile. By what process did it get into its present unsuitable place, and why is it not in the other version, the "canonical" Ezra? Bewer gives us no satisfactory information as to the motive of the insertion, and leaves us merely guessing as to its extent, and the process by which

<sup>1</sup> He supposes the lost material to have included a complete list of the exiles returning from Babylonia to Jerusalem, therefore presumably a matter of at least twenty-five or thirty verses.



our present text was reached. He fails utterly to explain why it is that there is no hint of a Jewish setting or connection of the Story until 4:43, nor any mention of Zerubbabel until the casual gloss in 4:13. All these things are easily and naturally explained on the customary hypothesis of a mere interpolator of a too familiar type, but not on the hypothesis which Bewer had adopted. According to his view, the interpolation in the Chronicler's history consists not simply of the Story *plus* such small additions and manipulations as would be needed in order to secure it in its new place, but rather of *a fragment of a Jewish historical work* of considerable extent, hitherto unrecognized.<sup>1</sup> That is, he postulates an author who used the Story as the nucleus of (or an episode in?) an elaborate document containing not only the narrative of a return of exiles under royal patronage but also a long list of names (just like the Chronicler's), which list he supposes to have been "cut out." What sort of an author is this? We meet with interpolators every day, and know their ways, but a new historian of the Jewish Return would be a discovery of the first magnitude—if any plausible evidence of his existence should be forthcoming. And how account for the fact that a writer who composed freely this considerable bit of very detailed history (quite remarkable, indeed, in its details; see the minute specifications in 4:49–56) was so unintelligent, or so very careless, that he gave the Story of the Guardsmen no plausible connection with its surroundings?

Bewer's postulated author of "The Return of Exiles under Darius" cannot be supposed himself to have inserted this narrative of his composition in the context of the Chronicler's history. Accord-

<sup>1</sup> Bewer's views resemble, in the main, those expressed by Stanley A. Cook in the introduction to his "First Esdras" in R. H. Charles's *Apocrypha*. I confess to keen disappointment in the treatment of the work by Cook, from whose achievements in the field of Hebrew history I have learned to expect so much. What he gives us here, in his treatment of the Return from Babylonia, is a most bewildering discussion of what, according to my interpretation of the documents, is a comparatively simple literary problem. I think I see before me the Chronicler, consistent, straightforward, and perfectly comprehensible, intent on his great work and doing it well; and a public fond of good stories, keen wit, and national glory, clinging to a bit of romance which had been smuggled in for them by a man of their own sort. Cook sees neither of these things, but notes instead: "diverging views of the history," "a very singular combination of conflicting traditions," "intricacies of rearrangement, adjustment, and revision," "traditions revised or mutilated," accounts which "combine in an inextricable manner trustworthy and untrustworthy data," "efforts made to effect a compromise," and many other like phenomena.



ing to Bewer, as we have seen, this Darius document originally contained a list of the returning exiles, which was "omitted" (p. 20) because of its immediate proximity to the Chronicler's list—only four verses distant! It must then either have resembled the latter so closely as to be plainly superfluous, or else have contradicted it so distinctly as to be intolerable. In neither case can we suppose the author himself to have effected the juxtaposition. No one could have been more sensitive than he to the supposed conflict between the two catalogues of names. It would have been open to him to omit his own, or to cut out the Chronicler's, or to remove the latter to a distant place, as he could very easily have done; it might have been inserted, for instance, after I Esd. 2:15. It is quite plain that this postulated author cannot himself have stowed away his postulated document in this place where any value that it might be supposed to possess would be greatly impaired—all but completely destroyed—by its immediate surroundings. Bewer's hypothesis of a new author of narrative *plus* lists, letters, etc., requires an interpolator besides.

What, now, can we suppose the nature of this "document" to have been? Bewer gives us no definite information as to his own view on this point, so we are left to conjecture. Was it a popular account of the rise of Zerubbabel and of the great expedition which he led? It cannot have been this, for popular accounts do not contain long catalogues of names. Such catalogues have no interest whatever for the ordinary reader, nor for the popular narrator; their purpose is purely historical. Moreover, the latter part of the supposed document (or fragment), after the close of the Story of the Three Guardsmen at I Esd. 4:42, consists chiefly of statistics and ordinances. It has no general appeal, and sounds not at all like the work of a *raconteur*. We must therefore suppose a compilation intended to be historical in character. But what an amazing bit of history! Where and how did it begin? The Story is not even "adapted," as any serious attempt to use it for the history of Israel must have adapted it. A very few words at the beginning would have sufficed to give it some sort of connection with its intended surroundings; for example, after I Esd. 3:7: "Now one of the three was a youth of the captives of Israel named Zerubbabel, the son of



Shealtiel, of the house of David, of the lineage of Perez, of the tribe of Judah." This is the very least that could be demanded. But it is not until 4:13 that we learn, quite incidentally, by means of a parenthesis consisting of two words, that the youth who defended the third thesis was named Zerubbabel—nothing is told us about his nationality; presumably the three members of this bodyguard would be Persians or Babylonians. Recollect that up to this time there has been no mention whatever of Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel in this history of the Return! And then there is that very curious passage, 5:5b-6, in which the hero's full name and lineage are given (why at *this* point?), with the more than suspicious addition: "who spoke wise sentences before Darius," although the story of the contest had been finished and left behind some time ago! And, to crown it all, the date of the contest (!) is now given, not merely *post festum*—that would be too feeble a term—but even after the cavalcade had set out for Jerusalem, and (according to Bewer) a long and classified catalogue of the emigrants had intervened! Must we not consider the "author" a bit feeble-minded who could deliberately compose his narrative in this manner?<sup>1</sup>

Now these difficulties, and others like them, which are staggering to one who tries to adopt Bewer's view, all vanish when we suppose a simple, ordinary interpolation; the Chronicler's history and a folk tale forced into it;<sup>2</sup> a mere interpolator doing his work in the usual way, instead of a second Chronicler whose work has all the characteristics of the first. The parenthesis in 4:13, "this was Zerubbabel," is an external patch, of the smallest possible extent,

<sup>1</sup> Bewer, p. 25, seems to think that we ought to be thankful for the date wherever it is vouchsafed to us, and argues that it is really the date of the contest before Darius (and not, as many scholars have supposed, the date of the great expedition) on the ground that "New Year's Day was a favorite day for such events," since "on New Year's Day Nehemiah won Artaxerxes' consent for the rebuilding of the city walls, Neh. 2:1." But can Bewer really find this date in his text of Neh. 2:1?

<sup>2</sup> Cook, in Charles's *Apocrypha*, p. 16, middle, arguing against the view that the story is an interpolation, says that the theory "assumes that for no apparent reason whatsoever a story of Darius has been introduced into the Cyrus-history." If Cook can furnish satisfactory proof that national pride is unknown among the Jews, and that pseudonymous books and tracts are not found in Jewish literature, I will support him in this remarkable statement. For myself, I can imagine no sort of writing more likely to be seized upon and secured for his people by a loyal Jew who appreciated both a gem of literature and a dramatic episode in history than this account of the victory of the Third Guardsman at the court of the Great King. As I have shown elsewhere, there is no other equally practicable place for the interpolation. So any scholar can satisfy himself, if he will make the experiment.



fastened to the Story of the Guardsmen; so scholars generally have regarded it. It has its perfect counterpart in 5:6, "who spoke wise sentences before Darius." Upon whose work is the patch fastened in this latter case? Presumably on the Chronicler's, seeing that the Story is now left behind and we are in a Jewish historical context. The thesis of incorporation of the Story, with the least possible labor, in the Chronicler's history can be satisfactorily maintained, that is certain; but the attempt to show how Bewer's new Jewish document, mutilated by excision (*by whom?*) and also curtailed (*why?*), was combined with the Chronicler's work so as to yield the text of our I Esdras, must completely fail, not only because the unknown quantities are so many, but also because the details postulated are so improbable in themselves.

We saw that in the matter of the lacuna between Ezra 1 and 2, Bewer's hypothesis not only leaves the former problems unsolved but also adds new and much greater ones; we now see that the same verdict must be rendered as to his treatment of the interpolation.

Further, as to a still more important matter, the relation of the gap to the interpolation. What has Professor Bewer to tell us? We have two editions of the Chronicler's history of the Jewish Restoration. In one of these, at a certain point, there is a lacuna; something that originally stood there has been cut out. So Bewer and I and very many others agree. In the other edition, at precisely the same point, there is an extensive and very disturbing interpolation. Something that the Chronicler himself did not write has been inserted, to the obvious ruin of the history. So Bewer and I and all who read the narrative connectedly must agree. These two very significant facts are fundamental to the whole discussion. *Are they unrelated?* According to Bewer they are. There is nothing in his article to indicate that he sees any connection between the two facts, nor is there in his hypothesis anything that could make such connection seem natural or even plausible. But this *exact* correspondence of excision with interpolation—in view of the incongruous nature of the latter and the havoc which it makes with all the adjacent narrative—is too remarkable and too obviously significant a fact to be passed over as accidental. It is safe to say that no theory will find



acceptance among scholars which does not recognize a direct and necessary connection between the two.

Why, now, does Bewer recognize a "gap between Ezra 1 and 2"? What are the items which must originally have stood just there, which are now lacking in our canonical recension? Obviously the following: (1) the account of the starting of the expedition from Babylonia and the statement that it arrived safely in Judea; (2) the names of the two leaders who in the subsequent narrative, after the arrival, are so prominent; (3) the date, to which reference is plainly made in the sequel, and which could not possibly have been omitted in this history which is so particular about dates; and (4) the letter of Cyrus to the Phoenicians in Lebanon, to which allusion is made in Ezra 3:7. These four strange omissions are recognized by Bewer, and indeed by everyone who considers the matter. Is it another wonderful accident that *these are all present in the latter part of the supposed interpolation, that is, in the Jewish narrative which is now appended to the Story of the Guardsmen?* Bewer takes no account whatever of this most significant fact, which provides at once the solution of the whole problem. In I Esd. 4:62—5:3 we have the account of the starting of the expedition, and in 5:2 the statement that it reached Jerusalem safely. In 5:5 we are given the names of the two leaders, with their lineage. In 5:6b is the missing date, as many scholars have seen, corresponding perfectly with the dates which follow in 5:46, 52, 54, 55, 70 (Ezra 3:1, 6, 8—4:5). And finally, 4:48 tells how the Persian king wrote the very letter to which allusion is made, with almost identical words, in Ezra 3:7! Moreover, these items all stand in precisely the order and relative position which we should have supposed them to occupy in the Chronicler's original narrative.

There is one and only one obvious conclusion, the conclusion which I adopted in my own investigation: This surprisingly long and detailed Jewish appendage to the Story of the Guardsmen, I Esd. 4:43—5:6, is simply the Chronicler's account of the Return under Cyrus slightly "doctored" by the interpolator of the Story.

If it were an unheard-of thing that an interpolator should tamper with the context in which he makes his insertion, there might be ground for hesitation here; but everyone who has dealt at all with



the subject knows that some such alteration is usually indispensable; always, indeed, when the insertion is out of keeping with its intended surroundings. The present case needs no argument or demonstration of such necessity, for our interpolator is actually forcing an anecdote of Darius into a Cyrus context—as we now see it before our eyes. Even so, he contented himself with a few very superficial changes. The two little glosses in 4:13 and 5:6, to which reference has already been made, are obvious enough; and a certain number of changes of “Cyrus” to “Darius” were of course indispensable, seeing that the Chronicler likes to repeat frequently the name of the Persian king. Hence, certainly, the “Darius” in 5:2, 6, and probably also in 4:47a. We have seen that no addition whatever was made to the Story of the Guardsmen at its beginning; at its close, however, some slight adaptation was absolutely necessary, otherwise the Story would certainly fall out, of its own weight, as soon as the interpolator's back was turned. The youth must make request of the king (there was nothing like this in the Chronicler's narrative), and after receiving the royal commissions (already provided by the Chronicler) must go forth to execute his task. These two things could not be omitted. The two small patches, made accordingly by the interpolator, 4:43–47a and 57–61, are immediately recognizable when once they are looked for. Bewer remarks, page 25: “Were it not that Torrey had to look for some place where his Hebrew document might begin, he would never have thought of challenging the extremely good and close connection of vss. 41–46 with vss. 47 ff.” In other words, were it not for the known fact of interpolation, it would not be necessary to look for seams. Assuredly not. But seeing that the interpolation is certain, it is clearly desirable to learn how it was effected. The fact that there is “extremely good and close connection” merely shows that the interpolator exercised some skill in the attempt to perform his impossible task. It was, indeed, absolutely impossible. He could not alter the “Darius” of the Story to “Cyrus” (even if he had wished to), for “the Lord” himself, not Zerubbabel, “stirred up the spirit of Cyrus,” as the king had also said in his proclamation (Ezra 1:1–2). It could never have occurred to any Jewish interpolator or editor to sacrifice Ezra 1:1 f.! Nor could he continue



his retouching of the Chronicler's narrative beyond where he had left off, altering the name also in I Esd. 5:53, 68, 70; for the immediately resulting conflict with 6 (Ezra 5) would destroy all his work. What he actually did was the very best that he could have done, and his interpolation was made in the only practicable place.

Here, then, is the simple and natural hypothesis, plainly suggested by all the main facts. The interpolation was a foolish and mischievous exploit, and the interpolator was just such an "editor" as we should be led to suppose by his undertaking to insert the gentile popular fantasia at this point in a serious history of the Jewish Return. His work as redactor in 4:43—5:6 is just such as we should expect from his easy-going gloss in 4:13. He made no more alteration than he was obliged to make, did his work ingeniously as far as it went, and let the history take care of itself.<sup>1</sup> No other hand was at work, nor was there any other complication. We have no need to suppose "gaps" in the I Esdras document (Bewer, as we have seen, supposes two), not even the loss of a single verse, nor to conjecture any intentional alteration whatever beyond what the interpolator himself had made, as above described. The recension which we call "First Esdras" is fully explained, and there can be no other plausible way of explaining it.

And now, in regard to the canonical Ezra, and the gap between the first two chapters. We have abundant evidence that the interpolator's edition, of which our "First Esdras" is now the only surviving fragment, won the day completely at first, and for a long time—probably at least two centuries—was the *only* edition of the Chronicler's history in existence. It is the recension from which the old ("Septuagint") translation of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah was made in the second century B.C.; the recension on which Josephus based his work; the only recension known to the Massorites who ultimately settled the text, as will appear. The interpolator might in truth have achieved a permanent triumph if the book which he altered—and seriously injured—had been less important. But, as

<sup>1</sup> The obvious fact that his interest was not in the history, but in the Story, seems to be quite overlooked by Cook especially. This comparative indifference to the historical details was certainly true also of the Jewish public who read or heard the narrative. It is true of any popular throng of readers or hearers, even in modern times.



we have seen, the account of events which he had created sounded suspicious at some points and absurd at others, so that it could not survive the scrutiny to which it had ultimately to be subjected as the one surviving record of the most critical period in Jewish history. The abiding, fatal discrepancy, which he could have removed only by destroying utterly his great predecessor's work, was the representation of Zerubbabel and Jeshua as "going up" *twice* from Babylonia to Jerusalem. How long would the learned rabbis of Israel permit this to stand in their scriptures, seeing that the Story of the Guardsmen was clearly the cause of all the trouble?<sup>1</sup> And how, it might be added, could the Samaritans and other enemies fail to make capital out of this manifest flaw in the most important documentary weapon which the Jews could wield against them?

What finally resulted was the excision of the impossible Story by some Jewish scholar or (more probably) group of scholars. By this excision, and the accompanying restoration of the section Ezra 4:6-24 (= I Esd. 2:16-30) to its original place, was obtained the text of our canonical Ezra, exactly as we have it. The limits of the section to be excised were absolutely prescribed, it must be observed. It must begin with I Esd. 3:1, the first words of the Story, and it must end with 5:6, the last verse of the Darius context, containing the last allusion to the Story. Aside from the cut and the transposition, everything was left just as it stood. Not a word was altered, nothing was added or subtracted. But along with the mischief-making Story of the Guardsmen went eighteen verses of the Chronicler's own work.

The simplicity of this explanation is commended to the attention of scholars. The "First Esdras" recension is explained as

<sup>1</sup> The incongruities here would not escape even the careless reader, though he would trouble himself very little about them. Zerubbabel went up from Babylonia to Jerusalem in the first year of Cyrus; nevertheless in the reign of Darius II, after the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes I (Ezra 4:6-24), he appears again as a "youth" at the Persian court in the bodyguard of the king. Not impossible, if the reigns were supposed to have been brief. (It must be borne in mind that *Darius Hystaspis*, as "*Darius the Mede*," was believed to have preceded Cyrus. The interpolator's idea of the order of the Persian kings was naturally the same as that of the Chronicler, the Chronicler's Aramaic source, and the Book of Daniel, 5:30; 6:1, 29; 9:1; 10:1; 11:1. See *Ezra Studies*, p. 38, note, and Cook, p. 11.) And again: though one might perhaps imagine that the adventurous Zerubbabel could return to Babylonia and go through the whole program a second time, it would be too much for credulity to suppose that the high priest Jeshua, and indeed the whole great company (also Neh. 7), could do this also!



the result of a single interpolation in the Chronicler's history, both motive and manner of the interpolation being transparent. Our "canonical" recension is explained as the result of a single excision, both motive and manner of the excision being perfectly obvious. The "gap" between the first two chapters of Ezra is not only accounted for, but filled, so that the history is restored to its original form. Has Bewer a plausible theory to substitute for this? If so, it has not thus far appeared.

Some of the details of Bewer's argument may now be examined. He remarks (p. 19, below): "If Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel were not identical, and if both were governors, Sheshbazzar first, Zerubbabel after him, the gap between Ezra 1 and 2 is not completely filled by Torrey's reconstruction." If this statement simply declares Bewer's own inability to see that the gap is filled, I cannot object to it, though I should suspect some misunderstanding; but if it is intended to go farther than this, I must say that it seems to me quite unwarranted. I myself believe that Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel were not identical (how could they be?); that both were governors, Sheshbazzar first, Zerubbabel later; and yet the lacuna between Ezra 1 and 2 seems to me to be completely filled, including everything which the author (the Chronicler) originally wrote. Bewer does not see how the narrator can have represented the Jews as having any other leader than their Persian officer. If Sheshbazzar was the governor appointed by Cyrus, then (Bewer would say) Zerubbabel cannot have been one of the heads of the expedition at that time; was not one chieftain enough? On the contrary, the Chronicler was eager to show that Sheshbazzar, although the official leader, duly appointed by the king and by his presence not only giving the whole enterprise the royal sanction (see especially Ezra 5:14-16) but also making it distinctly a forward step in the *Persian* administration of Judea, was nevertheless *not* the true leader and spokesman of the Jewish patriots. They had a prince and statesman of their own number, who, with Jeshua the high priest at his side (as in Haggai and Zechariah) and with support from the heads of the chief Jewish clans (see I Esd. 5:8b; Ezra 4:3, etc.) was the true chieftain of the people in all matters touching their religious history, the only history in which the Chronicler



was interested. And this is not merely the representation that would please the Chronicler; it is what we should suppose to have been actually the case under any such circumstances as these. Bewer writes as though he felt sure that Sheshbazzar was a Jew. The name, so far as it can give any presumption at all, would argue against this. Bewer speaks of "Sheshbazzar the prince of Judah," using the words of the English version of Ezra 1:8, and I myself took this rendering for granted in my *Ezra Studies* without giving the matter any attention. But I am now convinced that **לְיִשְׁבָּזָר** is correctly rendered in the old Greek version (I Esd. 2:11), *τῷ προστάτῃ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, the governor of Judea*. This not only corresponds to Ezra 5:14, on which the Chronicler plainly relies, but also agrees with Ezra 2 and 3, in which Zerubbabel is the acknowledged popular leader. Not all the governors of Judea, appointed by the Persian kings, were Jews, and this was the time of all times when a prudent policy would have sent out a Persian administrator of the province. "Strangely enough," says Bewer, "in the Chronicler's own story Sheshbazzar is not mentioned again." Why in the world should the Chronicler return to him? He was merely the royal vicegerent, and in no sense the head of the Jewish church. Suppose, for example, that this expedition had taken place when Bagohi was the appointed governor, at the time of the Elephantine correspondence; would he have been named as representing "the heads of the fathers' houses of Israel," side by side with the Jewish high priest? He would have been mentioned, doubtless, in order to give the expedition its official stamp as undertaken with the royal sanction; but after this necessary mention he would hardly have been referred to again in a purely religious history with a definite apologetic aim.<sup>1</sup>

Bewer continues (p. 19): "Torrey's argument for this is, however, untenable. From the Greek of Hag. 1:1, 14; 2:2, 21 he concludes 'that the words **פִּתְיָהּ יְהוּדָה** are a later interpolation

<sup>1</sup> Identifying "Sheshbazzar" and "Shenazzar" (I Chron. 3:18) is like treating "John" and "James" as one and the same name. The two Babylonian names are correctly transmitted and perfectly distinct. The one is compounded with the name of the god *Shamash* and the other with that of the god *Sin* (cf. **שִׁנְשַׁרְשָׁר** = *Sin-šar-ušur*, Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 380). This mischievous identification was first introduced by someone with the *Kombinationsgabe*, i.e., the genius for bringing together things which ought to have been kept apart.



in the Hebrew' (p. 306, note)." Bewer misunderstands me. As far as any theory of mine is concerned, I have not, and never did have, the least objection to supposing that Zerubbabel was governor of Judea, i.e., in the time of Darius, to which time alone the argument referred. Nor has it any bearing whatever on my argument whether he was or was not. If Bewer will look again carefully at the passage to which he refers, he will see that I gave my passing remark as to the verses in Haggai no connection with the account of the Return under Cyrus; nor did I think of them as either useful or detrimental to any views of my own. I should have expected a reader to draw this conclusion himself from the fact that my too hasty conjecture was not mentioned at all in the chapters dealing with this part of Ezra and the questions now under discussion, but only incidentally in a footnote in the last chapter of my book.<sup>1</sup>

Another subject on which Professor Bewer seems to me to write too hastily is the question of the language, or languages, of the section I Esd. 4:47—5:6. Chapters 1 and 2 of Ezra are Hebrew, the Story of the three Youths was Aramaic; in the addendum to the story, consisting partly of the Chronicler's narrative (of course *originally* Hebrew) and partly of the interpolator's patches, where does the Aramaic leave off and the Hebrew begin? Bewer writes (p. 23): "Since the Chronicler wrote his history in Hebrew, the original of the section which Torrey attributes to him must, of course, have been in Hebrew too." And again, a few lines below: "Let it be noted that for Torrey's theory it is absolutely essential that these verses should have been written in Hebrew." This strikes me rather strangely, seeing that it is a matter of complete indifference for my theory whether the section in question, as it stood in the original of the I Esdras recension (which is what Bewer is speaking of), was Hebrew, or Aramaic, or a mixture of the two. The evidence indeed seems to me to show that the language was Hebrew from 4:47 onward; but if Bewer, or anyone else, can show plausible ground for supposing a part or all of it to have been Aramaic, I shall accept the demonstration with keen interest. It will not in

<sup>1</sup> The footnote referred to was inserted as an afterthought, without due deliberation. I retracted it, and repented of it, as soon as it appeared in print. In the margin of my copy are the following words, written in pencil at that time: "No! Greek merely avoids the title 'governor.' So does Targum (גִּבְרָא)."



the least affect my theory.<sup>1</sup> The place and manner of transition here from the one language to the other were matters entirely within the control of the interpolator, and were a highly important part of his solution of the editorial problem. His aim was to make a "tight joint," and to this end it was open to him to translate the conclusion of the Story into Hebrew, or any portion of the Chronicler's Hebrew into Aramaic, or to compose patches of his own in either language, according to the plan which seemed to him most effective. The Chronicler himself, in incorporating his Aramaic document, followed it with a few verses in Aramaic of his own composition (Ezra 6:15-18), and then passed over into Hebrew (vss. 19 ff.) in such a way that it would be obvious only to a "higher critic" where the one author ceased and the other began. It is quite conceivable that the interpolator of the Story should have translated 4:47-56, for example, into Aramaic, in order to remove the point of transition a little farther from the close of the document which he was trying to fasten in securely. The one thing that we can be tolerably certain of is this, that he did *not* choose 5:7 as the place of return to the Hebrew language, for by doing so he would have rendered futile his whole undertaking. The exact coincidence of the limits of the Aramaic section with those of the incongruous matter would have made the interpolation obvious and its immediate removal certain. The excision which was actually made in the first or second century A.D. would have been made in the second or third century B.C.<sup>2</sup>

On page 18 Beyer remarks that I have "changed" the section 4:43-5:6 by pronouncing certain passages interpolary links

<sup>1</sup> I am not impressed by the evidence which Beyer produces on p. 24. There is an obvious distinction (is there not?) between royal documents given verbatim and the free summary of such a document by a Hebrew narrator. And is it not possible to say "toward Jerusalem" in Hebrew? The practice of facing toward that city in prayer certainly has nothing to do with the Aramaic language. Finally, Beyer says: "From Torrey's demonstration that the Story of the three Youths was originally written in Aramaic there would most naturally follow that the whole of it, I Esd. 3:1-5:6, was written in Aramaic." The whole of what? This is merely begging the question.

<sup>2</sup> Beyer takes no notice of my restoration of the original text of 5:36 from the corrupt Greek (*Ezra Studies*, p. 130, and note); I should have been glad of his opinion in regard to it. Cook accepts it tentatively. I should be interested to see any other explanation or emendation of the verse that can make it yield a passable sense. If my restoration is right, the question of the language (Hebrew) of this section of the document is settled. The same thing may be said of my emendation of the corrupt passage in 5:5. Very many scholars, to be sure, even those who supposed the Story to have been composed in Greek, have recognized the Hebrew idiom underlying 5:1-6.



(4:43-47a, 58-61; 5:6a), by emending "Darius" into "Cyrus," and by omitting 4:57. And again on page 24: "After boldly substituting Cyrus for Darius in 4:47; 5:2, 6,<sup>1</sup> and omitting the whole of 4:57, in order to conform the section to his hypothesis, Torrey gets . . . , " etc. This, if it were true, would be a serious indictment of my argument, for the arbitrary omission of a verse is always a very suspicious proceeding; but if Bewer will look again at the passage in question, he will see that I did nothing of the sort. I have nowhere even suggested omitting 4:57, nor could it ever have occurred to me to treat verses "58-61" as an interpolary link. On the contrary, verse 44 carries with it verse 57, and the two taken together furnish another bit of evidence of ingenuity on the part of the interpolator.<sup>2</sup>

On page 26 we read: "For the assertion that vss. 57-61 come from a different hand than vss. 47-56 and vss. 62 ff. no proof whatever is adduced." I wonder how Professor Bewer would justify this statement. I have certainly shown very cogent reasons, on the one hand, for concluding that the Chronicler himself cannot have been the interpolator of the Story and therefore the author of verses 57-61 (*Ezra Studies*, pp. 19 f.); and, on the other hand, I have argued that verses 47-56 are a part of the Chronicler's own narrative on the following grounds: (1) Just such royal decrees as those contained in these verses were to be expected in the Chronicler's history, and the fact that they are found here within the limits of the acknowledged "gap" in our Hebrew text establishes a presumption that they are his, especially as their extent and detail render it very unlikely that they are the work of a mere interpolator (*Ezra Studies*, pp. 26 f., 225). (2) In this passage the writer exhibits a particular

<sup>1</sup> This was certainly not a very "bold" proceeding, since at the end of the next dozen verses of narrative, and thereafter until the beginning of chap. 6, the king under whom all this took place is expressly named as Cyrus!

<sup>2</sup> Cook, in the introduction to his "First Esdras," p. 16, contending against the view that vss. 43-47a are the work of the interpolator, asserts that they contain material "which is partly of considerable independent value, and partly introduces a new tradition of Cyrus (4:44, 57) in conflict with all other evidence." And again on p. 32, below, he says that these verses "actually bring new details," and speaks of "the valuable vs. 45." How does Cook know that it is valuable? The chances are at least a hundred to one that it has no value at all. Is there not already more than sufficient evidence in the Old Testament that Jews and Edomites were (traditionally) bitter enemies, and that Jewish writers were likely to seize an opportunity to express their hostility? As for the "new tradition," might not a mere interpolator tell us things about Cyrus that no one had ever heard before? I have known even schoolboys who could accomplish this.



interest in the Levites and Doorkeepers which is characteristic of the Chronicler. Taken in connection with the facts just stated, this is very significant (*Ezra Studies*, pp. 27, 128). (3) Verse 48, in this same passage, is plainly the very edict to which the Chronicler himself makes allusion, as though it had preceded, in *Ezra* 3:7. (Bewer, p. 26, notices this as one of the omissions belonging to this "gap," but fails to remark that the edict is here present in *I Esdras*, in precisely the place where it would have been expected.) This one item by itself might well be regarded as sufficient to prove that we have here the Chronicler's missing paragraph; taken in connection with the other facts, it is truly compelling evidence (*Ezra Studies*, pp. 27 f., 133). (4) When the Greek of this passage and of verses 62 ff. is rendered, as closely as possible, into Hebrew, *following the guidance of this same translation in other parts of the book*, the result is a considerable collection of words, phrases, and idioms which are generally recognized as characteristic of the Chronicler. This confirms very strikingly the conclusion reached by the other lines of argument (*Ezra Studies*, pp. 115 f., 125-31).

If this is not adducing proof, I do not know what proceeding could be thus designated, and I am surprised that Bewer should have overlooked all this argument of mine. The proof for verses 4:62-5:6 is equally varied, and was also set forth by me in the *Ezra Studies*, but I will not take the space here to refer to it in detail. Taking both passages together, I doubt whether it would be easy to find, in the whole range of purely literary criticism, a stronger chain of evidence.

Bewer says further, page 26: "If we omit vss. 57-61 there is a gap between vs. 56 and vs. 62, which Torrey indeed notes and tries to bridge by a *conjectural* insertion of כל העם in vs. 62." If Bewer will look again at the passage in my book to which he refers, he will see that he has misunderstood me. My words (p. 129) were these: "It is of course possible that the subject of the verb (such as כל העם . . . ) originally followed here, but was removed by the interpolator. This supposition is not necessary, however." In my reconstruction of the Hebrew text (*ibid.*), accordingly, I inserted no subject of the verb, as may easily be seen. There is no "gap" at all here, and it is probably overrefinement to suggest a stylistic



smoothing, as I did in the passage quoted, and in my translation, seeing that exactly such transitions occur by the hundred, especially in such writers as the Chronicler.

In Bewer's whole discussion of the question of the Chronicler's authorship of certain portions of this section (pp. 21-26), he seems to me to overlook completely one fact of fundamental importance, namely this, that the passages *are found in the Chronicler's history*. They are not in Zechariah, nor in Jeremiah, nor in a book of unknown authorship; if they were, there might be significance in such details as Bewer discusses on pages 22 f. Whatever is found here, within the limits of this acknowledged lacuna, that could have been written by the Chronicler and is not incongruous with the adjacent history, is presumptively his.

Finally, as to I Esd. 5:4 f., the passage which has especially troubled Bewer—as well as all other readers of the book—and on which he seems to build his theory of a new historical document. He sees here the formal beginning of a long catalogue of names; priests, Levites, laymen, all those who went up from Babylonia to Judea with Zerubbabel and Jeshua. In this he is unquestionably right; all readers have found here such a beginning. But verse 5 contains only two names, and these are not immediately followed by others. Bewer accordingly asks (p. 21), "Who cut out this list?" Nobody cut it out; no list has been cut out; it is here before us, the whole long catalogue of names, beginning with verse 9 and containing precisely what was promised in verse 4. As for the two names in verse 5, is there not some conceivable reason why they should have been mentioned by themselves, a few lines before the main body of the list? Each of the two, be it noted, is introduced in a most impressive way, the lineage traced in the one case to Aaron and in the other to the royal line of David and Judah. The first is no other than Jeshua, the son of Jozadak, the son of Seraiah, one of the two leaders (according to the Chronicler) of the great expedition under Cyrus; the other, according to the Greek translation, is "*Joachim the son of Zerubbabel, the son of Salathiel*." It is evident that the whole difficulty lies in the words which I have *italicized*. It was not a Joachim who "spoke wise sentences before Darius," it was Zerubbabel. This conspicuously placed verse in its original



form must have named the two leaders who appear so prominently in the sequel. It is precisely the place for naming them, a verse or two in advance of the main list. It is quite certain that in the words "Joachim the son of" we are face to face with some corruption of the text, for every other word in the verse is needed just as it stands. Bewer objects to the plural, "the *priests*," while only one is immediately named; but this is one of the Chronicler's stereotyped forms, frequently employed in his catalogues where he names the single representative of a family or class; see for example I Chron. 2:31; 7:3, 10; 23:16, 17, 18; 24:24. Neh. 3:17 is also similar. Here it is especially natural because of the wish to emphasize at the outset Jeshua's representative character and the relative importance of the clergy in this return. It is not at all necessary to suppose the reading *יהוהכרמים*.

As for the corrupt spot in the verse, I proposed (p. 131) to read *בִּי* instead of *בִּי*, and this change, making necessary a verb just preceding, suggested *וַיִּקְרָא* in place of *וַיִּקְרָא*. Since the graphic difference is exactly one jot and one tittle, while the new reading is grammatically sound and yields a perfect sense, I have hopes that the emendation will commend itself to scholars. At all events, *these two words, "Joachim, son-of," are the result of textual corruption and must be emended*; there is no reasonable way of escaping this conclusion.<sup>1</sup> The difficulty which Bewer finds in the *בִּי* (p. 20) is, I think, hardly justified. There is no good reason for suspecting the reading in II Chron. 22:1, for we find exactly the same construction in I Kings 10:2, Num. 20:20, and elsewhere. The Chronicler has his own habits in the use of particles, but these habits (it is probably unnecessary to say) are always well supported by other Semitic usage. In Arabic, for instance, the equivalent of this phrase (using the same preposition) would be very common, and abundant parallels could be found in the Aramaic dialects. Another

<sup>1</sup> From Cook's suggestion, in his note on this verse, that the two words "may conceivably be an insertion," I must dissent most emphatically. For such an insertion a deliberate and sane purpose is always to be postulated, and no such purpose can possibly be seen here. The interpolator who was sufficiently interested in the passage to make this very serious alteration must be supposed to have read the context. In the original Semitic text, the words "who spoke wise sentences before Darius" could refer only to Joachim(!); and in vs. 8 (only three verses farther on!) Zerubbabel is again said to have been one of the heads of this expedition.



similar example in the Old Testament is Exod. 10:9: "We will go with (ב) our sons and daughters," etc.

Bewer charges me (*ibid.*) with mutilating the text. As to this "mutilation" I think there is room for a defense on my part. Here is a patient in desperate condition (as no scholar examining 5:5 would be likely to deny). The seat of the pain is obviously close to the middle of the victim, who must either be operated on or else be given up for lost. What I propose to do is to remove the diseased vermiform appendix (the lower end of a final ך), and I perceive that by this very slight "mutilation" the patient can be completely restored to health. What Bewer proposes is to cut the patient completely in two at the waist line; simply with the aim of repeating in the autopsy the verdict of the diagnosis, that the cause of the pain was unknown and that nothing could be done. Whether we are to pronounce an operation surgery or butchery depends on the result. I have "mutilated" (if he will so have it) the diseased appendix, but believe that I have saved the life.



## SOME RELIGIOUS ORIGINS OF THE HEBREWS

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Origins are always an interesting study and religious origins probably more interesting than any others. The rapidly growing number of books on the history of religions is an indication of this. Scholars now are studying religions as they never did before, and the discoveries in any one field result frequently in throwing light on difficult points in others. It is the purpose of this paper to discuss some religious origins of the Hebrews: the origin of Yahwism, of the priests, and of the prophets. These have been problems since the beginning of biblical science, and now in the light of fresh archeological material and of discoveries in other religions may well bear re-examination.

The thesis of the present paper, briefly stated, is that Yahweh was originally the tribal god of Judah<sup>1</sup> and only gradually became the god of the other Hebrew tribes as the influence of Judah came to dominate them; that the Levites in the first instance were a tribe, who, failing in a bid for political power, attached themselves (or were attached) to the tribe of Judah and in order to share their glory became the priests and propagandists of the Judean god Yahweh;<sup>2</sup> that the prophets developed from the priesthood in protest against the professionalization of priestly functions; and that prophecy in turn went through a similar experience until it reached its culmination in the mighty work of the eighth-century prophets. The paper is dependent in part upon the thesis of an earlier paper<sup>3</sup> and in part elaborates that. The thesis that particularly affects this paper is that Israel and Judah were in their origin two separate and distinct peoples;<sup>4</sup> as separate and distinct and accordingly as hostile one toward the other as the Babylonians and Assyrians, the Serbs

<sup>1</sup> After the writing of this paper it was discovered that Skipwith had made this suggestion as long ago as 1899, *JQR*, XI, 247 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Burney, *Israel's Settlement in Canaan*, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> "A Proposed Reconstruction of Early Hebrew History," *AJTh*, XXIV, 209-16.

<sup>4</sup> Judah in the earliest traditions, according to Meyer, was the brother of Israel, not his son, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 425.



and Bulgars, or any other two peoples of kindred ancestry similarly situated. Each developed almost entirely independent of the other, Israel in the north and Judah in the south; and only gradually did circumstances bring them together, and then came the inevitable clash of interests, religious as well as political. This is well illustrated by the literatures of the two peoples. There was a stock of southern traditions and a treatment of tradition from the southern point of view, and there was likewise a specifically northern cycle of traditions. These two streams are very manifest in all the Old Testament books from Genesis to Kings, as has long been pointed out by biblical scholars, but in the light of the present thesis the fact takes on new significance. When Israel became practically extinct as a nation in 721 B.C., the two literatures tended to unite and were eventually combined to make our present narratives, with the resultant obscuring in many places of things not in accord with the later Judean point of view. Hence there were racial and political jealousies as well as religious that have tremendously affected our Old Testament narratives. Ancient writings were always written for a motive (racial, political, religious, or what not), but that motive was never the presentation of a scientifically accurate narration of events. Our sources have come through many different hands and each has invariably left its impress upon them. Stories were not fabricated, but they were manipulated. They were retold, readapted, relocalized, and mingled with others until it is well-nigh impossible to recover the historical facts lying behind them. This is particularly true of our Old Testament narratives, as Cook has so well shown,<sup>1</sup> and constitutes the great obstacle in the way of the solution of the problems discussed in this paper.

In the matter of the origin of Yahwism the theory that probably still prevails among scholars (although not with the vogue that it once had) is the Kenite hypothesis, first suggested in 1862 by Ghillany writing under the pseudonym of Von der Alm.<sup>2</sup> It is not the purpose of this paper to canvass all the hypotheses that have been advocated,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Critical Notes on Old Testament History*; cf. also his article, "Simeon and Levi," *AJTh*, XIII, 370 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Theologische Briefe an den Gebildeten der deutschen Nation*, I, 216, 480.

<sup>3</sup> For a good discussion of the more important of these and a splendid presentation of the Kenite hypothesis see Paton, "The Origin of Yahweh-Worship in Israel," *BW*, XXVIII, 6 ff., 113 ff.



but a theory held so largely as this must receive some attention. According to the Kenite hypothesis Yahweh was originally the god of the Kenites and was entirely unknown to the Hebrews until he was introduced to them by Moses, who first learned of him through his father-in-law, a Kenite. This has the support of P (Exod. 6:2 ff.), the latest, most biased, and accordingly least trustworthy of all our sources. According to J, our oldest and probably most reliable source, Yahweh was not a new god to the Hebrews in the time of Moses, but a god long known to them (cf., e.g., Gen. 4:26; 12:8; 13:4; 21:33; 26:25; Exod. 3:16-18). E likewise affirms (Exod. 3:15) that the god who appeared to Moses was the same god that his fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, worshiped. He seems to imply, however, that he was now revealed under a new name, for from this point onward E's preference for יהוה as against אלהים to some degree disappears. But this is just what we would expect of E, an Israelitish writer. Yahwism, as the north knew it, was a southern cult, more specifically a Judean cult,<sup>1</sup> and its propaganda amongst the other tribes was intimately connected with Moses. This to E marked its beginning, but E as a northerner knew probably very little about its real origin.<sup>2</sup> As a late prophetic writer and a supporter of the Yahweh cult himself he maintains that after all Yahweh was not a new god but just the old god under a new name. Thus he would commend Yahweh to his countrymen not as a southern god, but simply as a reinterpretation of their own god or god in general (אלהים).<sup>3</sup> Indeed P's interpretation is not far different from this (Exod. 6:3, 8), nor is it altogether inconsistent with J. The defenders of the Kenite hypothesis, however, aver that the new name Yahweh means a new god. But this does not necessarily follow. With the Semites a name was a description, a definition. Without a name a thing was non-existent.<sup>4</sup> A new name for God then could just as well imply

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 111 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly Skipwith, *JRQ*, XI, 250: "Why is the invocation of Jahveh represented in J, Gen. iv, 26 (J'), as beginning with אֱלֹהִים—a name which must have originally signified the first man—while in E, Ex. iii, it is for the first time revealed to Moses? The answer is very simple: J expresses the point of view of Judah where the worship of Jahveh was in fact immemorial: E that of Ephraim, where tradition could recall its introduction."

<sup>3</sup> Similarly our Old Testament documents tend to interpret the early numina of springs, trees and the like, and the Canaanitish gods of the high places as manifestations of the true god, Yahweh (cf., e.g., Gen. 13:18; 21:14 ff., 33; 28:10 ff.; 32:23 ff.; Exod. 4:24 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Babylonian Creation Story, I, 1 f.:

"When above the heavens were not named,  
Below, the earth was not called a name."



a new definition, a new significance, a new understanding of his being and power. Just so the name of Jacob was changed to Israel according to the early J narrative (Gen. 32:29).

In Exod. 18:12 (E) there is an account of a sacrificial meal in which Jethro officiated, and this is interpreted by the exponents of the Kenite hypothesis as the rite of initiation of the Hebrews into the new Yahweh cult. But this is surely a strained interpretation of the text. If anyone is being initiated into the cult of Yahweh, it is rather Jethro, who now for the first time recognizes the might of the Hebrew god (Exod. 18:9 ff.).<sup>1</sup> The narrative is doubtless a reminiscence of the attachment of the Kenites to the tribe of Judah (by conquest or otherwise), with the resultant adoption of the religious faith of the latter, as always happened when one tribe amalgamated with another.<sup>2</sup> Later we hear of them, or at least of one of their clans, the Rechabites (so I Chron. 2:55), as supporters of Yahwism (II Kings 10:15-28; Jer. 35:6 ff.); but there is nothing to suggest that the cult originated with them.

The Kenite hypothesis owes much of its popularity to its supposed solution of the problem of the ethical superiority of the Yahweh religion. It is said that the Hebrew adoption of Yahweh, as likewise his adoption of them, was an act of choice, as if this were "a new thing in the history of religion" and the reason for the ethical character of the Hebrew religion. But the most casual study of the history of religions will show that races since the beginning of time have been borrowing their neighbors' gods, but these acts of choice have not been fraught with any great "far-reaching consequences," as is claimed for the Hebrews.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, it seems quite impossible to explain how Moses could have induced his people to leave Egypt under the guidance of a god of whom they knew nothing and who had done nothing for them. He could scarcely have rallied his kinsmen in the name of a god hitherto unknown to them. It seems scarcely possible that one man could have inspired a whole people

<sup>1</sup> See further Gordon, *The Early Traditions of Genesis*, pp. 108 f.; Kautzsch, "Religion of Israel," *DB*, V, 626 ff. Cf. also Num. 10:29-32; Judg. 1:16, where it is said very explicitly that in response to the invitation of Moses, Jethro and his tribe united with Judah; cf. Burney, *The Book of Judges*, pp. 14 ff.

<sup>2</sup> That the Kenites became ultimately an integral part of the tribe of Judah is of course a well-known fact; see, e.g., Burney, *op. cit.*, p. 45; Sayce, "Kenites," *DB*, II, 834b.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Knudson, *The Religious Teaching of the Old Testament*, pp. 158 f.



with the faith in an unknown and untried god that the Hebrews manifested toward Yahweh. Under much more propitious circumstances Ikhenaton of Egypt met with the fiercest opposition from all classes when he attempted to convert his people to Aton worship. The prophets, Ezekiel and Second Isaiah, found it difficult enough to rally the people in their day to a god long known and well-tried. What Moses did, as our earliest and naturally most trustworthy source J narrates, was rather to build upon what experiences of Yahweh the people already had, just as the prophets later did, and as all reformers and leaders in like circumstances must do. He appealed to their religious memories, to their primal instinct of self-preservation, and to their nomadic love of freedom. A common religion is a first and necessary prerequisite to tribal union and united action. If the people had not been already united in this, he could scarcely have rallied them for another venture. The term "Hebrew" cannot be confined to the little group of people that Moses led out of Egypt, who were probably a fragment only of the southern tribe of Judah, whose tribal god we believe was Yahweh.<sup>1</sup> The Hebrews were a "mixed multitude" and each tribe had doubtless its own tribal god. The new thing that came with Moses was the united allegiance of so great a group of tribes to Yahweh as their confederate god. This was "the covenant with Yahweh."<sup>2</sup> There is a decided tendency now among scholars to believe that this took place at Kadesh rather than at Sinai-Horeb, as was traditionally understood.<sup>3</sup> In the Old Testament there are very clearly two cycles of traditions concerning the entry into Palestine. According to one the entry was from the south and is associated with Judah, Simeon, Caleb, and other related tribes. According to the other it was from the east, and in this Joshua is the leading figure. The first is manifestly Judean and the other Israelitish. Similarly there are two traditions concerning the place of the making of the covenant with Yahweh. One connects it with Kadesh and the other with Sinai-Horeb. With the former the southern tribes are associated quite to the exclusion of the northerners. Joseph is conspicuously absent, as is likewise the Israelitish

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *AJTh*, XXIV, 214 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 210.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., Cook, "Meribath-Kadesh," *JQR*, XVIII, 739 ff.; and the authorities cited by him, *JQR*, XIX, 363, notes 1 and 2.



leader Joshua. On the other hand Sinai-Horeb belongs to the northern tribes who entered Palestine from the east. This is usually interpreted as indicating that the Leah tribes made Kadesh their rendezvous before invading Palestine from the south, and Sinai was the starting point of the Rachel tribes in their invasion from the east,<sup>1</sup> i.e., there were two similar episodes for the two groups of people which in itself is suspicious. Is it not more natural and more in accord with the interpretation of duplicate narratives elsewhere to see in these two narratives two versions of the same episode, a southern and a northern version, one localized at Kadesh and the other at Sinai? These the later compilers of tradition strove rather unsuccessfully to harmonize and the result is much confusion between the two places and many inconsistencies. It is just possible that the original J narrative did not have Sinai at all, for in the present narrative it plays a very minor and unimportant rôle as compared with Kadesh.<sup>2</sup> In any case J locates Sinai in the immediate neighborhood of Kadesh, whereas E makes Horeb a mount in Midian, east of the Gulf of Akaba, and hence far away from Kadesh.<sup>3</sup> Indeed all the northern writers do this. For instance, the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5) locates the seat of Yahweh (i.e., Sinai, according to the gloss of vs. 5) in Seir and the field of Edom (vs. 4), and the Israelitish tale relating the life of Elijah makes him travel forty days from Beersheba to Horeb (I Kings 19:3, 8).<sup>4</sup> The opening quatrain of the Blessing of Moses (Deut. 33) looks like an effort to combine these differing traditions.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, it is to be noted that Joshua, the Israelitish hero, is associated with Moses at Horeb in the E narrative (Exod. 24:12 ff.), whereas he is absent from the parallel account in J. Hence it would appear that the earliest and most authentic story localized the covenant with Yahweh at Kadesh; later a prominent mount in the neighborhood (Sinai) was added as an

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Paton, *JBL*, XXXII, 24; Barton, *The Religion of Israel*, pp. 47 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Sinai appears in J only in Exod. 19 and 34 and much of these chapters that is assigned to J is confessedly secondary. Cf. further on Sinai in J, Kuenen, *Hexateuch*, pp. 150 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See McNelle, *The Book of Exodus*, pp. cli ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the statement of Deuteronomy, who drew largely from E, that it was a journey of eleven days from Horeb to Kadesh (Deut. 1:2); cf. also Hab. 3:3.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History*, pp. 62 ff.



embellishment to the episode;<sup>1</sup> and later still the northern Israelitish version located the whole episode at Horeb in a region far to the east and unconnected with the ancient Judean sanctuary, Kadesh.<sup>2</sup> If this interpretation be correct, the whole ingenious hypothesis of the Kenite origin of Yahweh must go by the board, and we must look for his origin elsewhere.

The earliest form of religion with any people was probably naturism, which in course of time passed over into animism. Naturism is probably not to be found to any great extent in the Old Testament (cf. Gen. 28:22; 33:20; 35:7; Exod. 17:15; Judg. 6:24), but traces of animism are unquestionably present.<sup>3</sup> Yahweh undoubtedly had an animistic origin, but when he appears on the pages of Old Testament history he seems to be a tribal god. He was assuredly not the universally known god that Assyriologists were at one time wont to contend. Daiches<sup>4</sup> and Luckenbill<sup>5</sup> have conclusively shown that Yahweh is not found in cuneiform literature until the eighth century B.C. At best he was probably known little more than by name to most of the Habiri tribes as the tribal god of one of their number. In confirmation of this we note the practical absence of Yahweh names outside of Judah and Levi before the time of David,<sup>6</sup> and the fact that the first intimation of Yahweh's being known outside of Palestine is with the Arameans of Hamath and Ya'udi, the names of whose kings, Ya'u-bidi and Azri-Ya'u, would suggest a knowledge of Yahweh. That he was not a prominent god with them is shown by his absence in the list of gods of Ya'udi given in the Hadad inscription.<sup>7</sup>

Our contention is that Yahweh was the god of some southern tribe, probably the tribe of Judah. That he was of southern origin

<sup>1</sup> This addition might have come with the conversion of worshipers of the moon-god Sin to the Yahweh cult, who could very well have been the Jerahmeelites. For their connection with the moon cult and with Yahwism cf. Burney, *Judges*, p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> If Horeb is identical with Sinai, as Dillmann and many others maintain, the Israelitish story will simply be another version of the Sinai story.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*; H. P. Smith, *The Religion of Israel*, chap. ii; Peters, *The Religion of the Hebrews*, chap. iii.

<sup>4</sup> ZA, XXII, 125 f.

<sup>5</sup> AJTh, XXII, 47 ff.

<sup>6</sup> See Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, pp. 257 ff.; and J. M. Powis Smith, *AJSL*, XXXV, 15.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Meyer, *Israeliten*, pp. 247 ff.



is unquestioned, and his cult was nomadic in character.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, he is intimately connected with Kadesh and that immediate neighborhood, all of which suggests that he was the tribal god of Judah, and this is borne out by all our evidences.

There is good reason to believe that the Hebrew tribes before they amalgamated to make the confederacies of Israel and Judah had each its own tribal god. Ever since the time of Robertson Smith this has been very generally accepted, although there has naturally been much difference of opinion as to the identity of the several gods. Some of the tribal names may suggest animal or even totem gods, e.g., Leah (wild cow), Rachel (ewe), Caleb (dog), and less clearly Reuben and Simeon.<sup>2</sup> The god of Ephraim was evidently the bull god.<sup>3</sup> The names, Jacob-el and Joseph-el, in certain Egyptian and Babylonian inscriptions<sup>4</sup> suggest that Jacob and Joseph were originally god names; and the same is probably true of Isra-el, Ishma-el, Jerahme-el, and Jabne-el.<sup>5</sup> Other names are very clearly god names, e.g., Edom, Dan, Gad, and Asher.<sup>6</sup> That a tribe should bear the name of its eponymous god is not at all unusual but has many parallels in the Semitic world.<sup>7</sup> Zebulun and Jeshurun suggest that Zebul and Jeshur were in the first instance appellations of deities rather than mere names of tribes.<sup>8</sup> If we follow Kerber's suggestion that מִנִּי בְנֵי מִנִּי = בְנֵי מִנִּי,<sup>9</sup> Meni (cf. Isa. 65:11) would be the tribal god of Benjamin.<sup>10</sup> Issachar is undoubtedly derived from

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., J. M. Powis Smith, "Southern Influences on Hebrew Prophecy," *AJSL*, XXXV, 12 ff.; Meyer, *Israeliten*, pp. 85, 98, 131 ff., 163 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., W. R. Smith, "Animal Worship and Animal Names among the Ancient Arabs and in the Old Testament," *JPh*, IX, 75 ff.; *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 254. For other derivations of Reuben and Simeon see Skinner, *Genesis*, p. 386, note; Skipwith, *JQR*, XI, 241 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 119 f. below.

<sup>4</sup> Cf., e.g., Barton, *Archeology and the Bible*, pp. 299 f.; J. M. Powis Smith, *AJSL*, XXXII, 83.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Meyer, *Israeliten*, pp. 251 f., 293 ff.

<sup>6</sup> See, e.g., H. P. Smith, "Theophorous Proper Names in the Old Testament," *AJSL*, XXIV, 34 ff.; Wood, "The Religion of Canaan," *JBL*, XXXV, 254 ff.; Barton, *The Religion of Israel*, pp. 53 f.; Burney, *Israel's Settlement*, pp. 55 f.

<sup>7</sup> See, e.g., Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, III, 4 f.; Meyer, *Israeliten*, pp. 297 f.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Skipwith, *JQR*, XI, 242.

<sup>9</sup> *Hebräische Eigennamen*, pp. 67 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Skipwith, *JQR*, XI, 247, would connect Ben-oni, the earlier name of Benjamin (Gen. 35:18), with the goddess Anath. For Anath as a possible consort of Yahweh see J. M. Powis Smith, "Jewish Religion in the Fifth Century B.C.," *AJSL*, XXXIII, 322 ff.



אִישׁ שָׁכָר, and *Sakar* is probably a god name.<sup>1</sup> The names Naphtali, Manasseh, and Machir probably do not suggest tribal gods, but of course it is not to be expected that all the tribal names (some of them late in origin) would preserve the god name.

Whether all the interpretations suggested above be accepted or not, it would seem very clear that many of the Hebrew tribes had tribal gods and the presumption is that all of them had, including the two tribes, Levi and Judah, that particularly concern this paper. There seems to be good evidence that the serpent god, Nahash or Nehushtan,<sup>2</sup> was the tribal god of Levi. This was suggested first by Skipwith,<sup>3</sup> and later by Luther and Meyer,<sup>4</sup> apparently independently of Skipwith, because they make no reference to him. The argument in each case is essentially the same. The setting up of the serpent in the wilderness as a god of healing (cf. Asklepios) is ascribed to the Levite Moses (Num. 21:5-9 E, II Kings 18:4), and the pole (נֹסֶה) on which he set up the serpent (Num. 21:9) is probably identical with the נֹסֶה which appears in the name of the altar, יְהוָה נֹסֶה, erected by Moses in celebration of the victory won over the Amalekites through the use of the magic wand (בִּטְוֶה) of Yahweh (Exod. 17:8-16 E). It was this wand which when cast on the ground turned into a serpent (Exod. 4:2 ff. J) and with which according to E (Exod. 4:17) Moses was to work wonders (אֲוִרוֹת), and did so, in Egypt (Exod. 7:15, 17, 20), at the crossing of the Red Sea (Exod. 14:16), in making water come forth from the rock (Exod. 17:5 f., cf. Num. 20:7 ff.), and against the Amalekites (Exod. 17:9). In Exod. 15:25 (J) it was a tree or stick (עֵץ) with which he made the water sweet at Marah, but this is simply another form of the magic rod. In P it is noteworthy that the rod is no longer Moses' but Aaron's (Exod. 7:9, and elsewhere), and this would further confirm its Levitical origin, for Aaron in the later period was "the Levite" κατ' ἐξοχήν (Num. 16-18). A further connection between Levi and the serpent cult is to be found in the probable connection between Levi

<sup>1</sup> Such a god name, *dSakar*, appears in the Babylonian pantheon; see Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, 2832. See also Ball, *The Book of Genesis*, p. 84, who compares *Sakar* with an Egyptian deity, *Sokar*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. a similar god name in the Babylonian pantheon, *dNahish*, Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, 2256.

<sup>3</sup> "The Name of Levi," *JQR*, XI, 264 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Israeliten*, pp. 116 (Luther), 426 f. (Meyer).



and Leviathan,<sup>1</sup> both being derived from לָחָה, Arabic *lawāḥ*, "to twist, coil." Finally, the presence of serpent names among the Levites would point in the same direction, although these, it must be confessed, are few in number, due doubtless to the fact that serpent names, like animal names in general, came to be suppressed as out of accord with later religious ideas. The father-in-law of Moses is given the name Hobab, "serpent," by J (Num. 10:29). Even P preserves the name of Aaron's brother-in-law as Nahshon (Exod. 6:23), and with the Chronicler we have Naas as the name of a Levite (I Chron. 26:4 LXXB), and Shuppim, "serpents" (I Chron. 26:16).

None of the tribal names that we have so far considered suggests any connection with Yahwism. All the evidences would indicate that we must look to the south for the origin of this cult, and in view of the fact that Yahwism came to dominate the southern tribes, and eventually to some degree at least the northern tribes as well, we must look to that tribe which came to dominate the south and eventually extended its influence into the north. This is of course the tribe of Judah, and when the name יהודה itself suggests connection with the god Yahweh, the connection between Yahweh and Judah would seem to be established beyond all cavil. Of the two explanations of the name יהודה offered by the Old Testament, Gen. 49:8 and 29:35, the latter is preferable. This clearly indicates a compound of ידו (Yahu) and some form of the verb ידה.<sup>2</sup> If Meyer is right in believing that Ya'udi was founded by a migratory group of Judeans from the south,<sup>3</sup> this would be another indication that Yahweh was a Judean god, for Yahweh was a god of Ya'udi, at least in the eighth century B.C., as is evidenced by the name of its king, Azri-Ya'u. Only here and in the neighboring state of Hamath have we evidence for the knowledge of Yahweh outside of Palestine before the eighth century, and that must have come through Judean colonization. Another indication of the

<sup>1</sup> Skipwith, *JQR*, XI, 264, contrasts **לְיָהּ**, **לְיָר**, **לְיָהּ**, **לְיָהּ** and **נְחֹשֶׁת**, **נְחֹשֶׁת**. Cf. also Meyer, *Israeliten*, p. 426.

<sup>2</sup> So Jastrow, *JBL*, XII, 69; and Skipwith, *JQR*, XI, 247 f., as against the majority of scholars who find in יהודה simply some form of a verb "to praise," if they venture any etymology at all.

<sup>1</sup> *Israeliten*, p. 441; cf. Peters, *Religion of the Hebrews*, p. 91, n. 2, who suggests that the Ya'udi were a remnant left in the wake of the Aramean migration that brought the Hebrews to Palestine.



connection between Yahwism and Judah is to be found in the ark of Yahweh, which was doubtless an original part of the cult. There seems to be good reason to believe that this was in the first instance exclusively Judean.<sup>1</sup> Only gradually did it make its way to the north in the course of Yahwistic propaganda, and even as late as the time of David it was a strange and unwelcome object to many northerners. Only so can we explain Michal's contemptuous attitude toward it in II Sam. 6:16 ff. As Cook well says, it could not have been the form of the cult but its sacred object, the ark, that aroused her displeasure.<sup>2</sup>

Our evidences, then, would seem to lead us to the conclusion that Yahweh was in the first instance the tribal god of Judah, but his priests we know were not Judeans but Levites, and this raises the problem of the relation of the Levites to Judah and the Yahweh cult. The Levites, as we know them in the time of the Judges and early Monarchy, were intimately associated with Yahwism and were amongst its vigorous propagandists. Some knowledge of their origin ought therefore to throw further light on the beginnings of the cult, and to this problem we now address ourselves.

The origin of priesthood is manifestly to be traced to the earliest stage of social evolution, and is doubtless to be found very close to the beginning of magical and religious practices. There probably was a time when each individual invoked the god for himself without the help of a mediator, but the idea early developed that certain individuals could get better, easier and more intimate access to the spirit-world than others. These were the first priests in religion. They were shamans, wonder-workers, men credited with the possession of *mana* or spiritual power; or they could be individuals who lived near sacred places and so were supposedly on more intimate terms with the spirits residing there. With the elaboration of magical practices and ritual observances the necessity

<sup>1</sup> See Cook, *JQR*, XVIII, 356.

<sup>2</sup> The argument based on the ark is not affected by Arnold's thesis that it "was not a unique but a manifold object attaching to every Palestinian sanctuary that possessed a consecrated priesthood" (*Ephod and Ark*, pp. 26 ff.). This does not preclude the theory that there was an original Yahweh ark that became the model or prototype of the others. If we accept Arnold's contention that the local arks were medicine boxes, or primitive sacred chests, containing the divining stones, the introduction of the ark may go back ultimately to the Levites, who, as indicated below, may have been medicine men at an early time.



arose for specialists in these matters, and thus a professional priesthood came into being. Religion became too complicated for the ordinary individual and recourse was had to the more experienced practitioners. These were rather naturally the older men since they were supposedly possessed of most experience. As the family looked to the father for the conduct of their worship, so the larger group looked to their patriarchs or elders for religious guidance, and particularly to the leader of the patriarchs. There is the tendency always to centralize authority in one individual and exalt him to a position of pre-eminence over all others. It would seem that the first form of political organization with ancient peoples was the tribe and with most this presently became a city-state as the tribe settled on the land. This particular type of organization may have been the result of the religious development indicated above, for religion was unquestionably the strongest tie and greatest force in primitive society. In any case the sheikh of the tribe and later the king of the city-state was the chief priest of the religion and almost its sole functionary. As the state grew larger, however, or became more complex in its character and organization, as it naturally must in the course of time, the duties of the king became so many and varied that he had perforce to delegate some of his duties to deputies to act in his stead. Some of his religious functions he had accordingly to commit to others, and thus we have the beginning of a professional state priesthood, which inevitably comes almost immediately into conflict with the popular priesthoods, the survivals of the earlier shamans. These latter tend to disappear in the face of the greater authority of the state priesthood, but may survive for a long time, if not to the very end, or they may be absorbed into the state priesthood.

As far as the matter can be put in brief and general terms, this seems to have been the way in which the priesthood with most peoples anciently developed. And yet there are some very manifest exceptions, as for instance the Magi of the Iranians, the Druids of the Celts, and possibly the Brahmins of India. These seem to have been clan or tribal in their origin, and in the case of the Magi, at least, it would seem that these were a tribe who, defeated in an effort to obtain political power, eventually made up in religious



prestige what they failed to attain politically. May this not be suggestive of the origin of the Levitical priesthood with the Hebrews?

That the Levites were originally a tribe is the unequivocal testimony of the Old Testament narratives. A tendency among scholars is to suppose that they were from the beginning not a tribe but a priestly caste and that the term "Levite" denotes not tribal connection but profession.<sup>1</sup> But is this in accord with the evidences in the case? Our earliest source of information is probably Gen. 49:5-7, dated by all scholars no later than the early Monarchy and by Skinner<sup>2</sup> early in the period of the Judges. According to this Levi is not only a tribe, but a purely secular tribe. Even in the much later poem, Deut. 33:8-11, he still figures as a tribe although now intrusted with priestly functions. In the early Old Testament narratives many individuals not of the tribe of Levi are recorded as bearing the title priest or as performing priestly functions (see, e.g., Judg. 17:5; 6:26 f.; 13:19; I Sam. 7:1; II Sam. 6:3 f.; 8:18; 20:26; I Kings 4:5; 18:30 ff.), but these are nowhere called Levites, as would be the case if the term denoted official rather than tribal status. All the Pentateuchal sources, J, E, D, and P, are quite unanimous in their testimony that the term in the first instance was tribal (cf., e.g., Gen. 29:34 J; Gen. 34 J+E; Exod. 2:1 E; Deut. 10:8; 18:1 ff.; Gen. 35:23 P), and there would seem to be no good reason to doubt their testimony.

Furthermore, our sources all agree that the once secular tribe of Levi came in time to be invested with priestly functions. As to how that came about the traditions vary and it is a problem veiled in deepest mystery, but it has its parallel in the Magi. Here was a tribe that made a temporarily successful bid for political power under Gaumata, but defeated in that effort resorted to religious interests to recoup its fortune and eventually monopolized the priestly functions to the exclusion of the earlier *athravan* and *zaotar*, who were limited to no particular class.<sup>3</sup> Along similar

<sup>1</sup> The stock reference in support of this is Exod. 4:14, where Aaron in contradistinction from Moses is called "the Levite," i.e., priest, but this verse is universally regarded as late. The whole verse or at any rate the expression "the Levite" comes from a period when the Aaronites were winning the ascendancy in the priestly profession and Aaron was the Levite *κατ' ἔθος*.

<sup>2</sup> *Genesis*, pp. 510 f.

<sup>3</sup> See Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, Lectures VI and VII.



lines the Levites seem to have developed. That they made an early bid for political power would seem to be the natural inference from Gen. 34 and Gen. 49. That the incident was exactly as recorded in Gen. 34 is very doubtful. Both Levi and Simeon, who is connected with him in the incident, were southern tribes and it is surprising to find them so far north as Shechem.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the Shechemites manifestly did not suffer the destruction depicted in the story because they continued to flourish down to the time of Abimelech, as we know from Judg. 9. It would seem better with Meyer<sup>2</sup> to suppose that the story originated near the Simeonite territory in the south, probably Kadesh, and was transferred to Shechem because of certain points of affinity with the Abimelech episode. We have already noted the tendency to transfer traditions from one place to another. It is the sort of thing that has gone on in the world since the time when traditions were first formed. That Simeon and Levi are classed together in the narratives is doubtless due to common traditions, to common southern origin, and possibly also to an apparently old tradition that they were the *only* sons of Leah.<sup>3</sup>

If the story in Gen. 34, then, has any historical foundation, it would seem to indicate that Simeon and Levi together made some drastic attempt at political power, probably in some conspiracy against the growing dominance of Judah in the southern confederacy.<sup>4</sup> Defeated in that project, the two tribes were rather severely handled and all but wiped out of existence. What remained of them came in

<sup>1</sup> It is just possible, however, that we have here a record of an early attack of two southern tribes on the northerners, the first of a long series of conflicts between north and south.

<sup>2</sup> *Israeliten*, pp. 422 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Meyer, *Israeliten*, pp. 286, 426 f.

<sup>4</sup> Hence the rather mild censure of Gen. 34:30 and the reason for the later comparative insignificance of these tribes politically. In Gen. 49:5-7 this censure has been magnified into a curse, a reflection probably of the spirit of antipathy against the rising power of the Levites. It was in this period, viz., that of the Judges and early Monarchy, as noted below, that the Levites were struggling for religious ascendancy against rival priesthoods, especially in the north. Another reason for the curse may be that the lines come from a northern poet who is voicing the old-time antipathy of the north against the south. Later writers, more favorably inclined toward the Levites, extol Simeon and Levi for their act of destruction (see, e.g., Judith 9:2; Jubilees 30:4,18; Testament of Levi 5:2 ff.; cf. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, p. 179; *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, p. 22). In Deut. 33:8-11, written probably in the reign of Jeroboam II when the Levites had all but won religious ascendancy in both north and south, Levi is very naturally blessed and his enemies (rival priesthoods) cursed.



course of time to be absorbed by Judah, their probable conqueror. That Judah was a mixed tribe which drew by conquest or other means many elements to itself is a well-established fact.<sup>1</sup> Simeon we know was one of these elements,<sup>2</sup> and Levi was manifestly another. Like Simeon, Levi is unquestionably of southern origin. This is shown unmistakably by the connection with Massah and Meribah (Deut. 33:8), and by many other references in the Old Testament, e.g., Exod. 32:26-29; Judg. 17:7; 19:1. The traditions and genealogies of the Levites associate them with the south and their names are connected with sites in the south and with names found elsewhere among southern groups.<sup>3</sup> As a southern tribe, then, Levi was closely contiguous to Judah and the evidences would further indicate that in time it was conquered by, or became attached to, the stronger tribe of Judah, even as happened with Simeon. This may be suggested by the name לֵוִי, which in accordance with the Hebrew etymology of Gen. 29:34 is popularly regarded as derived from לָוָה, "to be joined."<sup>4</sup> This is indicated, too, by the names of certain Levite families which suggest Judean connection, e.g., Libni (Exod. 6:17), Hebron (Exod. 6:18), and Korah (Exod. 6:21), which was originally a clan of Judah.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, the plain interpretation of the genuinely old story, Judg. 17 f., attached to the book of Judges, is that the Levite there was, as the text clearly states, "a young man from Bethlehem of Judah of the clan of Judah" and was a sojourner (גֵּר) in Ephraim,<sup>6</sup> i.e., a stranger enjoying certain rights of hospitality and protection while living with an alien tribe (Judg. 17:7, 9; cf. also Judg. 19:1). To interpret "Levite" here as meaning profession and not tribe, as is frequently done,<sup>7</sup> is to violate the plain meaning of the text and is out of accord with references

<sup>1</sup> Cf., e.g., Burney, *Judges*, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Burney, *op. cit.*, p. 4; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, p. 395.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Meyer, *Israeliten*, pp. 83, 120; Cook, *Critical Notes on Old Testament History*, pp. 84 ff.; *JQR*, XIX, 169 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The usual interpretation of לֵוִי is that it signifies attachment, not to Judah, but to the Yahweh cult, cf. Exod. 32:26-29 (see, e.g., Barton, *Religion of Israel*, pp. 159 ff.). This is of course possible.

<sup>5</sup> See Wellhausen, *Isr. und Jud. Geschichte*, p. 151, note.

<sup>6</sup> If we amend the text of Judg. 17:7, וְהָיָא בֶן-גֵּרָשָׁם to וְהָיָא גֵּר-שָׁם with Beyer, *AJSL*, XXIX, 273 (cf. Burney, *Judges*, pp. 422, xx), he was not a sojourner in Judah, but apparently a native there.

<sup>7</sup> E.g., by Moore, *Judges*, p. 383.



to Levi elsewhere. Just as Caleb came to be regarded as belonging to the tribe of Judah although in origin distinct from it,<sup>1</sup> so it was with Levi.

The tribe of Simeon so completely merged with Judah that in time it disappeared altogether, but this was not the case with the Levites. They saved themselves from complete absorption and ultimate extinction as a tribe by championing the cause of the stronger tribe, particularly their Yahweh cult. Here was an opportunity of ingratiating themselves with the Judeans, and to the Judeans in this religious capacity they were not altogether unacceptable. As we have already noted, the tribal god of the Levites was probably the serpent god, and with the serpent has always been associated a certain occult, mantic power.<sup>2</sup> Hence Meyer is doubtless right when he speaks of the early Levitical priests as medicine men.<sup>3</sup> Among the surrounding tribes they were probably known as shamans, and now in a time of need that fame stood them in good stead. It is a peculiar fact that among many ancient peoples the religious functionaries of neighboring tribes are held in greater awe than their own. Indeed it seems to have been a universal belief among ancients that the secret powers of strangers were greater than those of well-known persons. In some regions whole tribes have been regarded as powerful wizards and their services have been sought by neighboring tribes.<sup>4</sup> It was probably in some such way as this that the Levites from being a purely secular tribe became the priestly order of another tribe and so saved themselves from extinction.<sup>5</sup> Among the ancient Arabs the priesthood was largely in the possession of special families that did not belong to the tribe among whom they exercised their office.<sup>6</sup> Indeed there is strong probability

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Burney, *Judges*, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Note in Hebrew שֶׁרֶפֶן "serpent," שֶׁרֶפֶן "divination."

<sup>3</sup> *Israeliten*, p. 427.

<sup>4</sup> See Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I, 122 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Similarly, the Druids, "the very knowing or wise ones," attained their priestly position with the Celts through their supposed possession of unusual magic knowledge (cf. MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*, p. 293). Numerous other examples might be cited.

<sup>6</sup> See Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*, pp. 130 ff. Similarly, Moulton maintains that the Magi who became the priestly order of the Persians were a non-Aryan tribe (*Early Zoroastrianism*, Lectures VI and VII), and according to a growing school of writers the Druids, the most venerated priests of the Celts, were pre-Celtic in origin (cf. MacCulloch, *op. cit.*, pp. 294 f.).



that some of these were Levites who migrating southward into Arabia became priests to the Arabs, as their brethren whom they left behind in Judah became priests to the Judeans.<sup>1</sup> This would seem to be the best way to account for the term *lawi'u* as the word for priest in the Minean inscriptions from El-'Olâ.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, there may be some connection between "ל" and Arabic *weli*, as Margoliouth has suggested.<sup>3</sup> So largely did the Levites take to the priestly profession and so completely did they in the end monopolize it that the term Levite came to be identical with priest in all the countries in which they settled.<sup>4</sup>

In losing their political existence the Levites rather naturally gave up most of their religion, as is shown by the fact that in El-'Olâ they were priests of the god Wadd, the chief god of that district, whereas in Judah they were priests of the Judean god Yahweh. And yet there are evidences that they did not leave their own religion completely behind, but rather grafted some of it on to the Yahweh cult.<sup>5</sup> It is only so that we can account for the fact that the serpent cult was so closely knit with the Yahweh cult and continued right down to the time of Hezekiah to be an integral part of it and was only eradicated under the influence of the vigorous polemic of the prophets against idolatry (II Kings 18:4). The presence of "serpent" as an element in Hebrew proper names<sup>6</sup> is another indication of the influence of the serpent cult on the Hebrew religion, as are likewise the name of the altar erected by Moses, Yahweh-nissi, "Yahweh is my rod" (Exod. 17:15; cf. the "rod" of Exod. 4:2 ff.), and the ascription to Yahweh of the art of healing

<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Gray, *ET*, XXV, 257, and Spooner, "The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History," *JRAS*, 1915, pp. 63 ff., 405 ff., believe that there are evidences that not all the Magi remained in Persia but that some of them migrated early to India.

<sup>2</sup> See Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien*, p. 42; cf. Mordtmann, *Beiträge zur minäischen Epigraphik*, p. 43; Hommel, *Ancient Hebrew Traditions*, p. 278; Meyer, *Israeliten*, pp. 88 f., 428.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Burney, *Judges*, p. 437, note.

<sup>4</sup> So magus in Persia replaced the older *athravan* and *saoatar* as the term for priest; Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 194.

<sup>5</sup> Similarly, Moulton maintains that Ahura Mazda was not primarily the god of the Magi but in becoming priests to the Persians they adopted the Zoroastrian faith, but succeeded in grafting on it certain peculiar beliefs and customs of their own (*Early Zoroastrianism*, Lectures VI and VII). It always happens that when two peoples unite the religion of the united people partakes something of the character of the earlier religion of each.

<sup>6</sup> For a list of these see Wood, *JBL*, XXXV, 242, note 20.



(Exod. 15:26; 23:25). The "serpent" (שֵׁרֶפֶן) of Num. 21:8 appears again in the "seraphim" (שֵׁרָפִים) of Isa. 6:2, 6 (cf. also Isa. 14:29; 30:6; Deut. 8:15); and still another evidence of the serpent cult may be found in the "serpent's stone" of I Kings 1:9, 38, and in the "dragon's spring" of Neh. 2:13.<sup>1</sup>

That there were priests before the Levites is unquestioned. The statement that Rachel "went to enquire of Yahweh" (Gen. 25: 22 f. J) suggests an oracle and its interpreter, like the Arab *kāhin*,<sup>2</sup> likewise Exod. 33:7 ff. (E). Similarly, Exod. 22:8 ff. (E) suggests an oracle or a priest at a sanctuary to interpret the will of the god; as do also "the terebinth of the oracle-giver" (Gen. 12:6 J) and "the terebinth of the soothsayers" (Judg. 9:37). It is very evident, then, that there were priests, and probably priesthoods as well, long before the Levites entered the profession, and it was a long-drawn-out and bitterly contested struggle among the rival priesthoods before the Levites finally attained the priestly monopoly, for there is plenty of evidence that there were priests who were not Levites down to a time not long antedating the Deuteronomic Code,<sup>3</sup> and between these and the Levites there was the fiercest kind of rivalry.<sup>4</sup> So far as we know, they obtained a religious ascendancy in the south rather early. This is to be expected because the south was dominated by the powerful tribe of Judah whose protégés they were. As the Magi became the propagandists of the Zoroastrian faith although probably not originally professing it, so the Levites became the sponsors and missionaries of the Judean faith, the Yahweh cult, not only in the south but in the north as well. Here for political as well as religious reasons they naturally met with opposition. And yet even in the early period they were not unwelcome, at least in some quarters, probably because of their fame as priests and the ancient belief, already noted, that the occult

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*<sup>2</sup>, p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wellhausen, *Reste*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 134 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., Baudissin, *DB*, IV, 70 ff. Some indeed seem to have been admitted to the Levitical order who were not of the tribe of Levi, as, for instance, Samuel (I Sam. 1:24 ff.). Similarly, the Brahmins up to the sixth century B.C., although fast becoming a separate hereditary class, were not absolutely closed by the rule of heredity, nor was the practice of priestly functions absolutely restricted to members of the Brahman class (Keith, *ERE*, X, 313a).

<sup>4</sup> The sagas which reflect the progressive stages of the conflict of priestly prerogatives are well discussed by Cook, *JQR*, XVIII, 749 ff.



powers of strangers are greater than those of familiar persons. It was for this reason doubtless that Micah welcomed the coming of a Levite to be priest in place of his son (Judg. 17),<sup>1</sup> and that Yahwism got a hold in the north at all.

The greatest religious opponents that the Levites met in their propaganda in the north were the Baal priests, but *baal* here is not, as is so generally understood, the Canaanitish god of agriculture, but very probably the bull god.<sup>2</sup> Unquestionably בעל in many instances does refer to some Canaanitish or other non-Israelitish deity, but there is every reason to believe that in many cases the reference is to the Israelitish bull god. As the south had its dominant tribe and accordingly its dominant cult and priesthood, so likewise had the north. In the north, however, the domination came more slowly and was not so complete because the tribes were more scattered, and geographical and other conditions made unity difficult to realize.

Waterman would make bull worship a Canaanitish cult which the Israelites took over on their entry into Canaan,<sup>3</sup> but of this there is no indication anywhere in the Old Testament. Like so many other scholars he would seem to err in assuming that the Israelites entered Canaan as worshipers of Yahweh and after their entry grafted on to their religion certain alien elements, and so came to identify Yahweh with the bull, as well as with other baalim. But of this we have not a particle of evidence. The facts are rather that a particular tribe of Israel entered Canaan as bull worshipers.<sup>4</sup> As this tribe came more or less to dominate its neighbors and thus constitute a confederacy, the bull naturally came to be the confederate god, but grafted on to this were doubtless certain elements from the other less victorious cults. Then as the confederacy was won to Yahwism, Yahweh came to be the chief god, but it was little other than the god that was new. The old forms remained, the old theology, and much of the old paraphernalia. This is the process that has gone on in all religions throughout the world, and there

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, he may already have been a Yahweh worshiper, as his name would suggest; or this may have been the name that he took after his conversion.

<sup>2</sup> It is doubtless needless to remark that בעל, like אל, is a general term or title of deity and is not a proper name; see, e.g., Paton, *ERE*, II, 283 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *AJSL*, XXXI, 231 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Bull worship does not necessarily presuppose agriculture, as Waterman maintains, for the wild bull, at least, is an animal known to nomads.



is every reason to believe that the Israelitish religion was no exception to the general rule. Hence it would seem that we must look to some one of the Israelitish tribes for the origin of the bull cult.

The outstanding tribe of the north was of course Joseph or Ephraim. The name Ephraim itself may suggest some connection with the bull cult in that there is the bare possibility that it is connected with אֶפְרַיִם "bull," or פָּרָה "cow." But weightier far than this is the frequent reference to bull worship in the north and the manifest connection between this and the tribe of Ephraim. It is noteworthy that every reference to bull worship in the Old Testament locates it in Israel and never once connects it with the south. The place that is particularly prominent in the cult is the sanctuary at Bethel, and Kennett is unquestionably right in finding in Exod. 32 an old Israelitish saga relative to its origin and in connecting the saga with Bethel rather than with Kadesh as it is now.<sup>1</sup> Indeed Nöldeke, Luther, and Meyer would go so far as to make Jacob the deity originally worshiped in the bull.<sup>2</sup> Exod. 32 is universally recognized as composite in character, but critics have never agreed on the details of its analysis. It is clear, however, that the story in its original form was complimentary to Aaron.<sup>3</sup> As Moses was the eponym of the Levites,<sup>4</sup> so Aaron was the eponym of the Ephraimite priesthood and the traditional founder of the bull cult of the north. Aaron never once appears in the J document,<sup>5</sup> and in E he plays a very minor rôle, acting merely as a sort of adjunct to Moses (cf., e.g., Exod. 5:1, 4) and is clearly a supernumerary who has later been introduced into the narrative to give an Israelitish flavor to early Hebrew history.<sup>6</sup> Only in the episode of the golden calf does he act on his own account. "The golden calf is his: he demands the material of which it is made: he fashions it: and he presents it to the people, and dedicates it. Certainly if any of the recorded acts of

<sup>1</sup> "The Origin of the Aaronite Priesthood," *JTS*, VI, 161 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Meyer, *Israeliten*, pp. 130, 282 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Smend, *Die Erzählung des Hezateuchs auf ihre Quellen untersucht*, pp. lxi, 204.

<sup>4</sup> Whether he was actually a Levite or not does not concern the present paper. For discussion see Meyer, *Israeliten*, pp. 72 ff., 118 ff.

<sup>5</sup> So practically all scholars since Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, pp. 139 f.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Kennett, *JTS*, VI, 162 ff.



Aaron be historical, the episode of the golden calf can best claim to be so considered."<sup>1</sup> Hence he would seem to have been an integral and original part of this saga as it was at first current in Israel. Between that time and the rendering of the episode, as we have it now in Exod. 32, the story went through many versions. As Yahwism came to dominate the north, the golden calf was interpreted as simply another form of Yahweh. Then in a later period, when the prophetic propaganda brought idolatrous practices into disrepute, the story was brought into conjunction with the act of Jeroboam I (I Kings 12:28-33) in re-establishing the bull cult after its partial eclipse during the Judean domination of the north in the two previous reigns and was retold in very much the form in which we have it now in verses 1-6, 15-24, 30-35. In view of the prominence that the Aaronites had attained in the priesthood the blame for the making of the image is quite naturally shouldered on the people (vss. 21 ff., 30 ff.) and they bear the penalty (vs. 35).<sup>2</sup> When the story came into Judean hands and received from them a Judean rendering, there was joined to it the old southern story of the consecration of the Levites (vss. 25-29), much to the credit of the Levites and the discredit of the Aaronites. Here is again reflected something of the old-time jealousy between north and south, probably accentuated now by the more recent friction between the Zadokites of Jerusalem and the Aaronites of the northern sanctuaries that followed in the wake of Josiah's reformation (II Kings 23:9).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kennett, *ibid.*, 165.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Deut. 9:12, 16, 21.

<sup>3</sup> That the Aaronites should later have attained the ascendancy in the priesthood is one of those anomalies that is not without parallel in history. Whether we accept all of Kennett's conclusions or not, his main thesis as to how this came about would seem to be well maintained in the article already cited, "The Origin of the Aaronite Priesthood," *JTS*, VI, 161 ff.; VII, 620 ff. (*per contra*, see McNeile, *ibid.*, 1 ff.). Briefly stated, his contention, as I understand it, is that after the deportation of the Zadokites from Jerusalem in 597 and 586 the Aaronites from the north naturally gravitated to Jerusalem. They were the only priests left in the country in any numbers, and despite the ruins of the city Jerusalem still remained the chief sanctuary of the land. The people there needed priestly direction and the Deuteronomic legislation stipulated that the Aaronites had as much right in Jerusalem as any others (Deut. 18:6-8). Then under them the ritual came to be re-established and in course of time the temple was rebuilt. Here was a case where possession was nine points of the law and the Aaronites naturally pre-empted the chief offices in the priesthood to the exclusion of the earlier Jerusalem priests (the Zadokites) who were now slowly returning from exile. That the return was in vastly smaller numbers than is traditionally recorded is now universally accepted by modern critics, and in view of the fact that the Aaronites were in possession at Jerusalem it is not surprising that so few were ready to return. It was better far to remain in



It would seem, then, that the bull cult was native to Israel and had its beginning with the tribe of Joseph or Ephraim. Other evidences would point in the same direction. In what is probably the oldest writing that has anything to say about Joseph, viz., "The Blessing of Jacob" (Gen. 49), we read:

Through the hands of the Jacob-Bull,<sup>1</sup>  
Through the name (?) of the Shepherd of the Israel-Stone,  
Through thy fathers' god, that he help thee!  
And El-Shaddai, that he bless thee! (vss. 24b, 25a).

Here clearly we have a direct statement of Joseph's connection with the bull cult at Bethel, or at Shechem, if we follow Luther's suggestion that "the Israel-Stone" is that mentioned in Josh. 24:26 f. as the religious rendezvous of Israel in early times.<sup>2</sup> Similarly in a poem from a later period, "The Blessing of Moses" (Deut. 33), we have a reminiscence of the same thing:

The first-born of his Ox (שׁוֹרָר): majesty is his!  
And the horns of a wild-ox (רֵאֵם) are his horns! (vs. 17a).

Just as peoples the world over speak of themselves as the children of their god and as the Hebrews thought of themselves as the children of Yahweh, so Joseph is here spoken of as the first-born of his god.<sup>3</sup> That the reference is to the bull god would find some confirmation in Hos. 12:11 (12): "In Gilgal they sacrifice to Oxen (שׁוֹרִים)." <sup>4</sup> The comparison, too, with the wild ox may not be without significance. רֵאֵם is identical with Assyrian *rimu*, which is often used as an appellation of deity,<sup>5</sup> and in Baalam's oracles

Babylonia and enjoy there the prestige given them by Ezekiel in his preference for the Zadokites (chap. 44:15 ff.). In some such way as this one must account for the pre-eminence of the Aaronites in the later period and in the Priestly Code. Such a hypothesis, however, precludes the Babylonian origin of P and would make it in part at least a Palestinian production, and this, it is to be noted, is the tendency of recent scholarship. That the cause of the Zadokites who returned from exile was not altogether without champions may be the implication of the later Sadducean party. The Sadducees, as the name may suggest, might have begun as champions of the Zadokites, and the Pharisees, who were less conservatively minded, of the Aaronites. The Chronicler, too, may have been a champion of the more legitimate priesthood, for he shows a certain animus against the Aaronites (cf. II Chron. 29:34; 30:3).

<sup>1</sup> שׁוֹרָר here is clearly with Meyer, Luther, *et al.*, to be read שׁוֹרָר (see Skinner, *Genesis*, p. 531).

<sup>2</sup> See Meyer, *Israeliten*, p. 284, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See further Meyer, *Israeliten*, pp. 284 f.

<sup>4</sup> So Vulgate; cf. Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, p. 390.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Jastrow, *Religious Belief in Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 74 ff.



the god of Israel is associated with the wild ox (Num. 23:22—24:8). It surely cannot be without significance that this association is so frequent in the Old Testament narratives and that the term **עֶבֶד** as an appellation of deity is only used of the god of Jacob (Gen. 49:24; Isa. 49:26; 60:16; Ps. 132:2, 5), or of Israel (Isa. 1:24). Hence Zimmern<sup>1</sup> and Gressmann<sup>2</sup> may not be far wrong in finding a reference to the bull in the very corrupt and difficult verse, Gen. 49:22, which constitutes the opening lines of Jacob's blessing on Joseph. They alone have been able to make any real sense out of the lines and that at least must stand in their favor.

In view of all these evidences, then, it would not seem too extravagant to say that the tribal god of Joseph (or whatever we care to name the dominant tribe of Israel) was the bull god. In that case it was in the name of this god that Hoshea made the covenant at Shechem and established the beginning of the northern confederacy.<sup>3</sup> As this confederacy extended its sway in the north, bull worship became quite the dominant cult among the Israelitish tribes and was found at most of their important sanctuaries.<sup>4</sup> But it was not to hold the field uncontested for long, for presently from the south there came missionaries of Yahwism. Haupt contends that Yahweh was not known in Israel at all until after the time of Deborah,<sup>5</sup> but this can be maintained only by such a drastic treatment of the Old Testament text as to be untenable. The practical absence of Yahweh names in the north down to the time of David, as we have already noted, would indicate, however, that the Yahweh cult was not very largely known until the Judean conquest. The only clearly attested Yahweh names before the time of Samuel are Joash, Gideon's father (Judg. 6:29), and Micah (Judg. 17).<sup>6</sup> Micah was probably a convert to Yahwism. This would seem to account best for his manifest joy in being able to engage a Levite for priest, or, as we have

<sup>1</sup> ZA, VII, 164 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Schriften des Alten Testaments*, I, 2, pp. 173, 180.

<sup>3</sup> For the hypothesis of the early covenant at Shechem see the present writer's article, "A Proposed Reconstruction of Early Hebrew History," *AJTh*, XXIV, 209 ff.; and Meyer, *Israeliten*, pp. 542 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See Waterman's exhaustive article, "Bull-Worship in Israel," *AJSL*, XXXI, 229 ff.; and the various dictionary articles on the subject.

<sup>5</sup> ZATW, XXIX, 286.

<sup>6</sup> Joshua is but a later form of the earlier name Hoshea (see Num. 13:16; cf. Num. 13:8; Deut. 32:44; and LXX in I Sam. 6:14).



already noted, he may have changed his name after he became a Yahweh worshiper. That Gideon's father should have borne a Yahweh name is more surprising. Gideon himself, if we can trust the traditions, was a champion of Yahwism. Whether or not we accept Waterman's emendation of the difficult verse, Judg. 6:25, he has made it very clear that the story (vss. 25-32), of which this verse is a part, has to do with Gideon's destruction of a sanctuary of the bull cult at Orphah.<sup>1</sup> That the cult was a popular one is shown by the stealthy means to which Gideon had to resort to carry out his project and the intense indignation of his fellow-townsmen on the discovery of his sacrilegious act. In the crisis that followed Joash felt impelled to rally to his son's support and hence to the support of his god as against the baal, who had shown his worthlessness in allowing his sanctuary to be destroyed. As an outcome of the episode Gideon's name was changed (vs. 32), and there is much to suggest that Joash's own name came from the same incident. When we come nearer to the time of David, Yahweh names increase somewhat in number. In the two books of Samuel there are about a dozen.<sup>2</sup> Of these only three, or at most four, are names of northerners, viz., Joel(?) and Abijah, sons of Samuel (I Sam. 8:2); Jonathan, Saul's son (I Sam. 13:2); and Mica, his great-grandson (I Sam. 9:12). Samuel, we know, was a champion of Yahwism, and Saul was one of his converts, although a rather fickle one.

Those who were most responsible for the spread of Yahwism were manifestly the prophets, and before proceeding farther it may be well to say a word about the origin of these missionaries of the faith. As we have already noted, the Hebrew priests, like those of other peoples, were in the first instance shamans and owed their position to their supposed possession of mantic power. The Hebrew word for priest itself suggests this. כֹּהֵן is identical with Arabic *kāhin*, "soothsayer." The ancient Arab priests gave oracles,<sup>3</sup> and likewise did the Hebrew priests. All the early references (e.g., Judg. 18:5 f.; I Sam. 14:18, 36 ff.; 23:9 ff.; 30:7 ff.; Deut. 33: 8) indicate this as their most important function, but as time went

<sup>1</sup> *AJSL*, XXXI, 236 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Gray, *Hebrew Proper Names*, pp. 281 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Wellhausen, *Reste*, pp. 131 ff.



on and the cultus became more elaborate, and a shrine, idol, and other paraphernalia came to be provided, new duties arose: caring for the shrine and its equipment, and officiating in the cultus. At the same time the priestly office tended to become professional, and in becoming professional it tended to become hereditary. Now duties like caring for the shrine and officiating in the cultus are the sort of thing that can become vested interests: they can be handed down from one generation to another until they become the monopoly of a particular group. But soothsaying, the ability to have the ecstatic experiences that make a man a shaman, is dependent altogether upon predisposition and temperament and is not heritable. Accordingly, as the priests became a professional and hereditary class, their earliest and most important function was lost to the profession, except as it could be preserved along merely mechanical lines, as for instance the casting of lots, the consultation of the teraphim and ephod,<sup>1</sup> and the observation of certain phenomena; and even these methods ceased in time. But though shamanism died out in the priesthood, the man of vision could not disappear. As the priests functioned less and less along this line and less and less satisfactorily, the need for this approach to deity was met more and more outside the profession, but rather naturally in a circle closely allied to it. Thus we have the first of the Hebrew prophets. In time they grew to such numbers and prominence that they got into the records and we read of their exploits in the stories of the later judges.

The early Yahweh prophets were of the shamanistic type. They were men possessed of the spirit of Yahweh (I Sam. 10:6; 11:6; 19:20, 23) and under the influence of that spirit expressed themselves in wild, uncontrolled religious ecstasy (I Sam. 10:5-12; 19:18-24; II Kings 9:11). This state of ecstasy might be artificially induced (I Sam. 10:5; II Kings 3:15), but after all one must be of a particular temperament to respond thereto. Prophecy was limited to a particular type of mind, but within that circle found ready response. Prophecy was contagious (I Sam. 10:10; 19:20, 23 f.). One prophet drew to himself others of like temperament, and presently prophetic societies, "the sons of the prophets," came into being.

<sup>1</sup> Or ark, if we follow Arnold's contention, *Ephod and Ark*, pp. 17 ff.



The early prophets are intimately associated with the priesthood and are found at the priestly sanctuaries (I Sam. 10:5; II Kings 2:3, 5; 4:38).<sup>1</sup> Many doubtless grew up within priestly circles. Samuel, for instance, was brought by his parents to Shiloh to be trained for the priesthood (I Sam. 1:24 ff.), but instead of becoming a priest he became a prophet.<sup>2</sup> It was their type of mind that was most akin to his own, and amongst them he became a most influential leader (I Sam. 19:20). Prophecy whether within or without priestly circles represents the more primitive, more spontaneous, more ecstatic, and less professionalized expression of the religious consciousness. It represents the break in the religious ranks that must inevitably come in any organized institution.

Hebrew prophecy arose at a time when the land was being ground under the heel of a foreign conqueror, the Philistines, and this fact had much to do with stimulating its development and molding its character. The movement became political as well as religious, and its propaganda was as much the one as the other. As zealous champions of Yahwism the prophets opposed anything and everything that was alien to the cult. Intensely emotional, easily excitable, and given to fanaticism as they were, the tragedy of the day found ready response in their hearts and they went up and down the land preaching a politico-religious crusade against the heathen. They were the means ultimately of rousing the people to the white heat of revolt, and in this they advanced tremendously the cause of Yahweh.

By the time of Samuel, Yahwism had evidently attained a firm hold in the north as a result of Levitical and prophetic propaganda. Many of the sanctuaries had become centers of the new cult. Shiloh, for instance, at one time evidently a seat of bull worship,<sup>3</sup> was early converted to Yahwism (cf. Judg. 18:31; Jer. 7:12), probably by Eli, a Levite (I Sam. 2:27 f.), who was able to establish his

<sup>1</sup> So also with other peoples; cf., e.g., Jastrow, *Religious Belief in Babylonia and Assyria*, under *bārû*; Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion Today*, pp. 144 f.; J. M. Powis Smith, *The Prophet and His Problems*, chap. i, "Prophets in the Semitic World."

<sup>2</sup> Although Samuel is represented as performing priestly duties, as many another of his day, he is nowhere called a priest.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Stade, *ZATW*, III, 10. The Shiloh pilgrimage (Judg. 21:19 ff.; I Sam. 1:3, 21; 2:19), like the Shechem festival (Judg. 9:27), suggests an institution originally connected with the bull cult (cf. Exod. 32:19).



family there as "priests unto Yahweh" (I Sam. 1:3). The phrase, "unto Yahweh," was doubtless added to distinguish the new priesthood from the old, and to indicate that the bull priests had been replaced by Yahweh priests.<sup>1</sup> If we can trust the traditions, the sacred Yahweh ark, or arks, played an important rôle in the propaganda of the cult in the north, and one of these was for long settled at Shiloh. To Shiloh Samuel came as a young boy to train for the priesthood of the new faith, but later threw in his lot with its more vigorous advocates, the prophets, and in time grew out of sympathy with the priests. An indication of this is to be seen in the fact that after the destruction of Shiloh the priests moved to Nob (I Sam. 22:11, cf. 14:3), whereas Samuel returned to his home at Ramah (I Sam. 7:17) and is henceforth found in the company of the prophets. In this we have the beginning of a cleavage between him and his party, the prophets, and the Levitical priests, but both continued in their separate ways to extend the sway of the Yahweh cult.

According to our earliest and most reliable source (I Sam. 9:1-10:16) Samuel was the prime mover in the establishment of Saul as king. He was influenced to this doubtless by religious as well as political reasons. If the Hebrews were ever to throw off the yoke of the Philistines, it could only be as they were organized politically, and to do this in the name of Yahweh would give an added impetus to the spread of the Yahweh cult. Saul had come early under Samuel's notice and through his influence had apparently become a convert to the new cult (I Sam. 10:1-13), much to the surprise of his friends (I Sam. 10:12; 19:24, "Is Saul also among the prophets?"). It was under the guiding hand of prophecy, therefore, that the first kingdom, such as it was, came into existence; but it was a disappointment to all concerned. The revolt against the Philistines was not the success anticipated: Saul like any new convert was rather fickle in his allegiance to Yahwism and the prophetic party; and like anyone suddenly raised to power he took his prerogatives too seriously and too jealously.<sup>2</sup> Like any other king of his

<sup>1</sup> So in I Sam. 14:3 Eli himself is called "the priest of Yahweh in Shiloh"; cf. I Sam. 5:5, where the Philistine priests are called "the priests of Dagon."

<sup>2</sup> A part of the prerogative of any ancient monarch was participation in religious functions. For Hebrew kings cf., e.g., I Sam. 13:9; II Sam. 6:14, 17 f.; 8:18; I Kings 8:5, 62 ff.; 9:25; 12:33).



time he looked upon religious functionaries as subordinate officials whom he could appoint, control, and depose at will. The result was that he had not been king very long before he quarrelled and broke with Samuel and the prophets (I Sam. 13:8-15, cf. 15; 19:18 ff.), with the necromancers (I Sam. 28:3, 9),<sup>1</sup> and with the priests of Nob (I Sam. 22:11 ff.). His break with the prophets and massacre of the priests of Nob were serious blows to Yahwism in the north and succor now could only come from the south.

Samuel, as an Ephraimite,<sup>2</sup> had naturally hoped to see a union of the Hebrew people under a northern king, but his hopes and his efforts in that direction ended in dismal failure. The petty kingdom of Ishbaal that survived the death of Saul succumbed very quickly to the growing power of David to the south. Whatever may be the facts lying behind the stories of David's early relations with Saul,<sup>3</sup> there can be no question that David was the founder of the southern kingdom and that this was a keen rival of the northern kingdom of Saul, and the two were often in conflict until the south finally absorbed its northern rival. In this conflict the south had the open support of the prophets and Levites in the north, and this of course widened the breach between them and Saul (I Sam. 19:18 ff.; 22:11 ff.). Disappointed in Saul, they very naturally turned to David and were the more ready to support him in that he was from the south, the home of Yahwism, and like them was a zealous champion of the cause of Yahweh. With David's success over the north and later against the Philistines Yahwism reached the height of its power. A royal sanctuary was established at Jerusalem and the Shilonite ark deposited there. Yahwism was made the religion of the land and to secure it in that place the priests were organized under Abiathar as chief priest, and he and Zadok, together with the other leading priests, were made members of the royal court in Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> Similar prestige was given to prophecy in that the leading prophets,

<sup>1</sup> This has generally been regarded as unhistorical (cf., e.g., Budde, *Die Bücher Samuel*, p. 178), but there could have been no possible motive for a redactor to attribute such an act to one whom he esteemed so lightly as Saul.

<sup>2</sup> The Chronicler (I Chron. 6:13, 18), as we might expect, makes Samuel a Levite. So also do Girdlestone, *Expositor*, 1899, pp. 385 ff., and Van Hoonacker, *Le sacerdoce Lévitique*, pp. 265 f., but without good reason, we believe.

<sup>3</sup> For discussion see Cook, "Saul and David," *JQR*, XIX, 363 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See Baudissin, *DB*, IV, 72b.



Gad and Nathan, were also admitted to the royal court (cf. II Sam. 24:11 ff.; I Kings 1). The work of David in this direction was continued by his son and successor Solomon, until it seemed as if nothing of the older bull worship would survive. But old customs and institutions die hard, and remnants of bull worship were absorbed into Yahwism.<sup>1</sup>

On the death of Solomon and the secession of the north under the leadership of Jeroboam I<sup>2</sup> all the long and tedious work of Levites, prophets, and kings in the attempted conversion of the north to Yahwism seemed undone by a single stroke. Jeroboam broke with the south religiously as well as politically,<sup>3</sup> and re-established bull worship as the official cult of the north (I Kings 12:26 ff.). He deposed the Levites from the priesthood, restored the old sanctuaries, and appointed as priests those "who were not of the sons of Levi" (I Kings 12:31 ff.). Thus was bull worship revived in the north and its priests, the Aaronites, returned to power.

The days that followed made ever more apparent the defection of the north from Yahwism, but after all it was this new religious crisis that brought forth a new champion of the cause of Yahweh in the person of a new type of prophet. The earlier prophets, as we have already noted, in time came to organize themselves into societies and in this we have the beginning of the professionalization of prophecy. Before long it went the way of the priesthood and for that matter of all institutions. It lost its original spontaneous, inspired character and became in time as professional as the priesthood against which it was originally a protest.<sup>4</sup> As earlier prophecy was a protest against the professionalization of the sacred office of interpreter of Yahweh, so the new type of prophecy came into being as a movement of the same order, and found itself more bitterly arrayed against the professional order of prophecy than the earlier prophets had ever been arrayed against the priests. The issues now

<sup>1</sup> The evidences of this are to be seen in the bull names borne by Hebrews, by the presence of bronze bulls and cherubim in Solomon's temple, and the two colossal cherubim of olive wood within the oracle; see Waterman, *AJSL*, XXXI, 235 ff.

<sup>2</sup> That the north had never taken kindly to southern domination is apparent from the records; cf., e.g., II Sam. 19:40 ff; 20; I Kings 11:26 ff.

<sup>3</sup> This was of course the rule in early days. Political revolt meant religious cleavage. The day had not yet arrived when two independent nations could worship the same god.

<sup>4</sup> These professional prophets came to be known as false prophets in contradistinction from the true prophets.



were clearer and men had advanced in ethical and religious discernment. The first prophets of the new type were Elijah, Elisha, and Micaiah; but these after all were somewhat allied to the old order. The new type of prophecy receives its first full expression in the mighty work of Amos, who very clearly defines his status as not of the old order but of the new (Amos 7:14 f.).

With the revival of bull worship in the north by Jeroboam I, Yahwism was dealt a serious but not a fatal blow. Not all the people returned to the old religion, but many naturally clung to the new faith, to such a degree indeed that even in the dark days of Ahab's reign it could be said that seven thousand (i.e., many) were "the knees that had not bowed to the baal" (I Kings 19:18). The old religion could not stand, but finally succumbed before the vigorous campaign of the prophets which culminated in the revolution of Jehu.<sup>1</sup> Yahwism was again established as the official cult of the north,<sup>2</sup> and the north was now independent of the south. For the first time in history we have two distinct nations worshiping the same god, and in this a long step had been taken in the direction of making Yahweh an international god and so a universal god.<sup>3</sup>

The prophets began as champions of Yahwism. That led them to oppose baalism, and eventually all the idolatrous and licentious practices connected therewith. That led them in time to be champions of truth and of Yahweh as the god of truth. The establishment of Yahweh as the god of two distinct nations like Judah and Israel and the recognition that he was using an alien race, the Assyrians, as an instrument of punishment in his hand, eventually led the prophets to see in Yahweh the god of the world, the god universal. Thus with the prophets monolatry broadens into monotheism, nationalism into universalism, and religion becomes a matter of the heart and of righteous living rather than mere ritualistic practice. With them

<sup>1</sup> With the Hebrews, as with ancient peoples generally, conversion was still by the sword. It is not until much later that a new interpretation of religion comes into the world with the later prophets (cf. Hosea's attitude toward Jehu's revolution, chap. 1:4).

<sup>2</sup> That much of the old religion remained in popular practice is apparent from Hos. 8:5 f.; 10:5; 12:12; 13:2; and similar passages.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. M. Powis Smith, "The Effect of the Disruption on the Hebrew Thought of God," *AJSL*, XXXII, 261 ff.



we come to a new interpretation of god, a new interpretation of man, and a new interpretation of religion. With them origins cease and the fruitage of ages of intensest religious experience is given to the world in those mighty sermons that still remain the admiration and wonder of the world.



## Critical Notes

### DANIEL 3:21-24

With his well-known acumen Professor Charles C. Torrey ("Notes on Daniel," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. XV, July, 1909, p. 264) has discovered and pointed out an imaginary difficulty cast into the student's thorny path through the Aramaic of Dan. 3:21-24 in a popular and supposedly critical edition of the Old Testament, Kittel, *Biblia Hebraica*, II, 1166, notes on verses 23 and 24. Most frequently, when he publishes such discoveries, Mr. Torrey elucidates the fancied difficulty by a solution striking in its freshness and convincing in its simplicity. The *Notes on Daniel* are full of examples of this procedure. In this particular case Professor Torrey contents himself with a mere suggestion that everything is in order, perhaps because he lacked time and space to do more, perhaps because the case is rather clear, possibly because he has not quite correctly appreciated the import and force of the notes in the Kittel Bible.

The author of the notes in Kittel is the excellent, conscientious, but somewhat ponderous Max Loehr. Now Max Loehr has studied the textual problem of Daniel, particularly of the LXX, minutely (*ZATW*, 1895 and 1896), perhaps too minutely. And thus it happens that in his conscientiousness and good-natured ponderosity Max Loehr finds that at this point to his sense and according to his conception of the meaning of the Masoretic text, as it stands, Nebuchadrezzar's astonished surprise is not prepared for with sufficient thoroughness, is not led up to by sufficiently gradual degrees. This is the gist of the meaning of his remark on verse 23: "fortasse additur, ut intervallum inter v. 22 et 24 expleretur," and of his question on verse 24: "cur N. turbatus?" He does not mean, as Professor Torrey seems to assume, that the whole lengthy hymn-material of LXX is of the original, but that some such statement as that which he inserts in his notes, LXX: καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἀκοῦσαι τὸν βασιλέα ὑμνοῦντων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐστὼς ἐθεώρει αὐτοὺς ζῶντας, or Theodotion: καὶ Ναβουχοδονοσοῦς ἤκουσεν ὑμνοῦντων αὐτῶν, which would account both for the invention and insertion of the hymns, and for Max Loehr's idea of the proper preparation for Nebuchadrezzar's surprise, has been lost from the Aramaic text of the Masora.

In spite of this misunderstanding and the consequent overstatement of the case against the Kittel Bible, Professor Torrey is right in his essential contentions, and Max Loehr is wrong. Every change made in these verses, not only that of Max Loehr, but that of LXX, Theodotion, Peshito, etc.,



as well, is made *from* the Masoretic text as it stands, and does not lead to a more original reading. Every change of this nature, Max Loehr's with the rest, misses and destroys the progression of ideas that leads with all the story-telling art displayed throughout Daniel, chapters 1-6, and with exactly the right measure of fulness to a fine dramatic climax.

Max Loehr may well be taken as an example for the test, in order that our youth may not further be misled by his authority. How does he proceed? He finds that verse 23 is superfluous. In the lapidary style of the textual footnote he puts it: "v. 23 (=v. 21)." Then, having excised verse 23, he discovers an empty "interval" which he supposes some Aramaic editor to have filled out by the supposedly inept and incongruous verse 23, and which he proceeds to fill in by the hymn-singing of LXX.

But verse 23 does not equal verse 21. This is really all that it is necessary to see clearly; and it is so easy to see. "Falling," verse 23, does not = the "being cast," verse 21; and the relation of the participial "being bound," verse 23, to its governing verb, "fell," is very different from that of the finite verb "they were bound" to the parallel finite verb "they were cast" in verse 21. To miss these distinctions is to miss the artistic high point of the well-told tale.

The purely textual evidence, moreover, is also in favor of our Masora. It will suffice here to point out the fact that Theodotion clearly read Masora, and that this was just as clearly the text behind the clumsy changes of LXX and Peshito, which like Max Loehr's disturb the delicate balance and destroy the exquisite beauty of the story at an essential point.

As it stands, the picture presented by verses 21-24 is flawless in the progression of its ideas. Verse 21 is clearly not momentary action, but presents to the reader or hearer—and in the vividly conceived scene presented to the king and the other onlookers—a preparatory action which consumed some little time. Of the binding this is clear in itself. As the binding could obviously not take place in the immediate neighborhood of the overheated furnace, the act of "casting" is not conceived in this verse merely as the momentary action of throwing or pushing, which, in fact, did not take place at all, as verse 22 shows; it would include (by a pedant it would have been more exactly stated to be) the dragging or carrying of the bound victims to the point whence the actual pitching was to take place (probably most naturally imagined by the author and his readers as a dragging up an inclined plane; cf. vs. 22 and see note on the furnace below). Correctly translated into modern literary English this would be: "They were taken up to be cast."

During the progress of this action an unexpected event creates a breathless interval. Arrived at the point whence the three hapless men are about to be pushed into the fire, the action is momentarily halted, because in the haste and special severity commanded by the king the specially



chosen executioners themselves are overcome by the fierce flames before they had been able to consummate the act of casting. The victims are left for a breathless moment tottering upon the brink, with an even chance open to them in the mind of the reader (and of the king and the spectators), that they may be saved right here and escape the punishment altogether. This escape is not, of course, intended by the author, for therewith his miracle would have been too natural, of doubtful miraculousness, incomplete (besides, he would have had the balked king to deal with presently); very clearly, however, his intention is artfully to suggest the chance of such an escape.<sup>1</sup>

The suspense is broken by verse 23. Though no one is any longer pushing them, yet these three men *fall* into the fire, unable to save themselves, *being bound*—a fact which the reader might have forgotten or overlooked in the suspense of the previous moment; moreover, the repetition of the statement that they were still bound at the very moment when they fell into the fire looks ahead also to the “bound” and “loose” of verses 24 and 25. And so the worst fears of the reader for his heroes, the blood lust of the king, and the fundamental requirements for a genuine miracle are all satisfied together.

The dénouement which now comes to pass is surely prepared for as well as anyone could wish. The king is looking, not listening; there is not a single thing in what follows to suggest that he heard anything. But he saw something, and he rose in startled surprise and exclaimed, verse 24.

This is the very wizardry of story-telling. No modern short-story writer or composer of a cinematograph scenario could have done it any better. Small lapses from absolute realism are no more disturbing here than they are to our sense in the work of the moderns, where they are fully as plentiful. The readers for whose delectation Daniel, chapters 1–6, was written, were not cool, critical-minded college professors, laboriously dissecting with microscopical minuteness a “text” in a foreign tongue; they were Jews reading a fascinating tale of the marvelous escape of fellow-Jews from imminent danger of a horrible death, incurred through loyalty to their religion. To such

<sup>1</sup> The scene will be clearer to the mind of the modern reader, if he pictures the furnace to himself, as quite probably the author thought of it, as a very large *tannûr* (Marti, “Daniel,” *KHC*, p. 20; Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäologie*, p. 87; second ed., p. 65). A photograph of such a stove or oven on board a Tigris boat may be seen in *Der Islam*, Vol. IV (1919), Tafel 6, Abbildung 13, of H. Ritter's *Mesopotamische Studien*, I. The whole thing is simply a truncated cone of clay hollowed out, a sort of volcanic crater, with a hole at the bottom to start the fire and secure a draught. The attempt to cast the men in would be made at the top, over the brim. When the fire had burned lower, as with the ordinary fuel of the Orient, especially of Palestine, it would speedily do, the walking out would take place through the draught-hole at the bottom. It is not the writer's intention to insist upon this particular form of furnace, but merely to aid the modern reader's imagination by means of this note; some readers might otherwise be tempted to think of doors and stokeholes and other paraphernalia of modern furnaces of various types, as even scholars well acquainted with oriental languages have imagined hinges on ancient oriental doors.



readers it would scarcely occur to ask how, if the strong executioners died, the poor Jews could live and their bonds could last in the selfsame heat. Nor would it bother these readers that the author, like many an illustrator and moving-picture impresario of our own day, takes out for the nonce, or rather permits the imagination of his readers to take out, a segment of the furnace, so that king, spectators, and readers may see exactly what is going on inside. And, anyway, what reader, accepting at its face value the great miracle as told, would balk at these picayune details?

Just one more remark before the translation in full is offered. With the reading suggested the apparently overloaded beginning of verse 22 *כָּל־קֶבֶל הָנָה בְּיָדֵי* comes into its own and becomes easily intelligible. *כָּל־קֶבֶל הָנָה* has here that temporal connotation suggested by Gesenius-Buhl<sup>18</sup> for Dan. 3:7, 8, where it is hardly so clear. It is thus clearly differentiated from the *בְּיָדֵי*, which is left to bear the causal burden alone.

And so, *kāl-q' vel d'nd*, we read:

"Thereupon those men were bound, fully clothed, and were taken up<sup>1</sup> to be cast into the burning fiery furnace. At this juncture, the command of the king being severe and the furnace heated beyond measure, a licking flame of fire killed the very men who had taken up Shadrak, Meshak, and Abednego. But those three men, Shadrak, Meshak, and Abednego, fell into the burning fiery furnace, being bound. Then King Nebuchadnezzar rose in startled surprise and exclaimed to his counselors: Did we not cast three men into the fire bound?"

It is quite possible that what is here said, or something very like it, has been said before. The writer has not examined in detail the voluminous literature on Daniel for a question of priority, nor does he intend to do so. He speaks to his generation, and is quite content to have those of it hear who have ears to hear. To another generation, again grown heedless, as is the way of men, its own warner may say once more what is here said, or better.

Finally, if precedent and example have not been much quoted in this note from grammar and lexicon, it is because upon reading such as this that grammar and lexicon must be built, not vice versa.

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<sup>1</sup> Or "were about to be," a meaning common enough, in the passive participle, which is here simply inflected.



THE PRINTED TEXTS OF THE PESHITTA OLD TESTAMENT<sup>1</sup>

A critical edition of the Syriac Old Testament is not yet available. Hence, before one makes use of the Peshitta for the textual criticism of the Bible, one must endeavor first to verify the correctness of its text. The means for that purpose accessible in print are the following editions:

I. *Biblia polyglotta Parisiensia*, Michaelis Le Jay. Lutetiae 1629–1645 =  $\mathfrak{S}^P$ .

II. *Biblia sacra polyglotta Londinensia*, Briani Walton. Londini 1657 =  $\mathfrak{S}^W$ .

III. *Vetus Testamentum Syriace . . . iussu societatis biblicae recognovit et ad fidem codicum manuscriptorum, edidit* Samuel Lee. Londini 1823 =  $\mathfrak{S}^L$ .<sup>2</sup>

IV. *Vetus Testamentum Syriace et Neosyriace*. Urmia 1852 =  $\mathfrak{S}^u$ .

V. *Biblia sacra iuxta versionem simplicem, que dicitur Pschitta* (3 vols.). Mausili 1887–1891 =  $\mathfrak{S}^m$ .<sup>3</sup>

The *editio princeps* was prepared by Gabriel Sionita (a Maronite, b. 1577 at Edden on the Lebanon; d. 1648 at Paris) for the Great Paris Polyglot published by M. Guy Michel Le Jay in 1645. It is the basis of the several subsequent editions. Sionita aimed not only at editing the Peshitta but producing as nearly as possible a complete Bible in Syriac.<sup>4</sup> In combining, as he did, versions by different hands and of different ages, he followed the example of the Greek-speaking churches, which from the second or third century have included Theodotion's version of Daniel in the LXX;<sup>5</sup> and the insertion of extraneous matter that he had practiced has been followed by all succeeding writers. Concerning the preparation of Sionita's edition we have but little knowledge. Sionita, despite his excellent qualifications in Syriac learning, "did not apply himself industriously, and was even accused, apparently with some show of reason, of carelessness in the work."<sup>6</sup> He is, indeed, charged by scholars to be untrustworthy and yet they are indebted to him for giving an apparatus of vowels and other points which

<sup>1</sup> The sigla used for the various printed editions of the Syriac Bible are those employed in Kittel's Hebrew Bible, while those for the Peshitta MSS are taken from Barnes's *Apparatus Criticus to Chronicles in the Peshitta Version*. Cambridge, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> The same edition was reissued in 1824 with some slight changes. As to wherein one differs from the other, see Nestle in *ZDMG*, LIX (1905), 31–32.

<sup>3</sup> A second edition without any alteration in the text but differing in size was issued in 1888–92 and subsequently two reprints were made.

<sup>4</sup> Sionita's contribution to the Paris Polyglot is his revision and correction of almost all Syriac and Arabic texts, and the translation of the Arabic and Syriac texts into Latin, with the exception of the Book of Ruth, which is the work of Abraham Ecchelensis (a Maronite born in a village on the Lebanon in 1600; died at Rome in 1664), who also prepared III Macc. in Arabic and the Latin translation thereof. See London Polyglot, I, Proleg. XIII, 89a.

<sup>5</sup> See Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, pp. 64 ff.

<sup>6</sup> J. P. Arendzen in *Catholic Encycl.*, VI, 331b.



his successors have for the most part adopted. The fact that the system of vocalization introduced into the Syriac of the Paris Polyglot was partly, at least, an innovation introduced by Gabriel Sionita must be borne in mind by those who used either the Paris or the London Polyglot; for in many words there is a redundancy of vowels and the forms of some are not always consistent.

By some singular irony of fate, Gabriel Sionita used as the main authority for his text that MS<sup>1</sup> which seems to be the worst of all known MSS of the Peshitta and which, according to Barnes,<sup>2</sup> "was unfortunate both in its birth and in its bringing up. From the first it contained more errors due to homeoteleuton than any other of the MSS here cited; and it was afterward revised by an editor<sup>3</sup> who made corrections in the text and supplied omissions in the margin on a large scale often without any manuscript authority whatsoever." The claim<sup>4</sup> that Sionita supplied missing portions by translating from the Latin Vulgate cannot be substantiated. It seems, rather, that the additions were really translated from the Hebrew, or else brought in from some parallel place in the Syriac. The corrections are often assimilations to our present Hebrew text. Obviously such additions and corrections can have very little authority. As Barnes<sup>5</sup> well pointed out, a comparison with other MSS shows that his codex is of no value whatsoever. It persistently disagrees with the older MSS which are available now, and very frequently its editorial readings stand absolutely by themselves.<sup>6</sup> It is, however, also possible that this codex is the only surviving representative of an otherwise lost family of ancient lineage; but such a hypothesis is of necessity barren of proof. The two facts upon which we have to rely are that this codex is a MS of the seventeenth century and that it differs widely in text from many MSS known to be ancient. Gabriel Sionita's chief MS, being of so little value, seems to have been used only because it was convenient for the printers to handle. The text printed from it is quite unsatisfactory. It varies from the oldest MSS in many respects, particularly in the following four points: (a) in agreeing with the Hebrew when the other MSS disagree; (b) in disagreeing with the Hebrew where they agree; (c) in omitting many clauses and some passages of length which they contain; (d) in using later forms where they give classical forms of words. That this MS is of a late date was already suspected by Samuel Lee. In 1821, speaking

<sup>1</sup> Codex Syriac 6 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. This was not the only MS used for the text of the Paris Polyglot; see Barnes, *App. Crit.*, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Zotenberg (*Catalogue*, p. 22) strangely identifies this editor with E. Renaudot (born 1646), while asserting that this MS was used for the Paris Polyglot of 1645. It is clear that "Syriac 6" was edited for the press and that the editor's notation corresponds with the notation of the folios and columns of the Paris Polyglot.

<sup>4</sup> J. A. Edgren in *Hebrew Student*, I (1882), 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Expository Times*, IX (September, 1898), 560.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Barnes, *App. Crit.*, pp. xvi f.



of a MS belonging to Dr. Adam Clarke, Lee asserted<sup>1</sup> that "it agrees mostly however with Ussher and Pococke, and with the printed text, which leads me to suppose that the manuscript from which Gabriel Sionita took the text of Le Jay's *Polyglot* . . . must have been one of a modern date."

In 1657 Bishop Brian Walton, in the London Polyglot, reproduced "without any improvement"<sup>2</sup> the text of the Peshitta of the Paris Polyglot. In his Prolegomena (p. 89b), Walton censures Gabriel Sionita for the imperfect condition of the Syriac text and its Latin version in the Paris Polyglot. He contents himself, however, with merely reprinting these, adding some apocryphal books translated from the Greek and placing Herbert Thorndyke's collation of a few MSS in the sixth volume of the Polyglot. Walton promised to re-edit the text of the Peshitta, and evidently it was for this purpose that Herbert Thorndyke drew up his *apparatus criticus* to the Syriac Bible. But this promise remained unfulfilled.<sup>3</sup> Not only did Walton fail to take advantage of the several MSS brought to England by Archbishop Ussher and Pococke, which would have enabled him to correct the misprints of the Paris Polyglot, but he even allowed new misprints to creep in, in his edition. "The idea that the Syriac text which Walton reproduced was amended from MSS furnished by Archbishop Ussher<sup>4</sup> and Pococke is a delusion, and as a matter of fact of the two Polyglots, the Syriac in the Paris edition is freer from typographical inaccuracies than is the London."<sup>5</sup> Herbert Thorndyke's collation of the few MSS which were used by Walton for the sixth volume of his Polyglot contains many inaccuracies. Dr. Samuel Lee remarked that the MSS of Archbishop Ussher and Pococke were most carelessly collated by Thorndyke.<sup>6</sup> Yet, despite all its defects, Thorndyke's collation is, for the present, the only existing *apparatus criticus* of the whole of the Peshitta Old Testament.<sup>7</sup>

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the British and Foreign Bible Society undertook the publication of a quarto edition of the canonical books of the Bible. This edition was printed in London, 1823, for the use

<sup>1</sup> See his "Remarks on the Collation of Syriac MSS" in *Classical Journal*, XXIII (1821), 247.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15. See also Cornill, *Ezekiel*, p. 81; Diettrich, *Zin App. Crit. zu P. zum Jesaja*, p. xiv.

<sup>3</sup> W. E. Barnes, *Peshitta Psalter*, p. xxxi.

<sup>4</sup> In the Prolegomena to this work (p. 165b) it is stated that Archbishop Ussher's MS was copied "from a codex of the Patriarch of Antioch," who is the head of the Maronites.

<sup>5</sup> W. A. Copinger, *The Bible and Its Transmission* (London, 1897), p. 274.

<sup>6</sup> *Classical Journal*, XXIII (1821), 249; cf. J. Rogers, *Reasons Why a New Edition of the Peshito, or Ancient Syriac Version of the Old Testament, Should Be Published*, etc. (Oxford, 1849), p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> There are, however, in existence a number of critical apparatus to some single books of the Syriac Bible.



of Syrian Christians in Malabar under the supervision of Professor Samuel Lee. According to Cornill,<sup>1</sup> it is a mere reproduction of the text of the London Polyglot, which in turn is a reproduction of that of Paris. It retained very few vowels and these chiefly with proper names.

Professor Lee had a great opportunity to make the initial step toward the publication of a critical edition of the Peshitta. He had access to "B" the "Buchanan Bible" (Cambridge Univ., Oo. 1. 1, 2) of the twelfth century; to "p" (Bodleian Poc. 391); to "u" (Bodleian 141, Ussher's MS); and to "e" (Brit. Mus. Egerton 704). These four MSS each contains nearly the whole Old Testament, the last three being West Syrian MSS of the seventeenth century. Lee also had within reach "C" (Cambridge Univ., 1. 2. 4, written at Edessa, 1173 c.E.) for the books of the Prophets, and Gloster Ridley's MS of the Pentateuch, preserved at New College, Oxford. He had further at his command some MSS of detached books, late in date, but important as being of Nestorian origin, which Claudius Buchanan deposited in the Cambridge University Library. Lee was also aware of the fact that the Arabic version and the scholia of the Syrian church fathers, such as St. Ephraem, Bar Hebraeus, and Aphraates, were of value for the textual criticism of the Peshitta, and he actually made some use of these helps. The final results of his labor are very disappointing when compared with the wealth of material at his disposal. In the first place too large a number of misprints was allowed to stand, and in the second place Lee overrated the authority of Bar Hebraeus and accepted some readings for which, so far, no corroboration has been found in the ancient MSS but which seem to be simple emendations of the learned Syrian Father from Hebrew, Greek, and other sources. Barnes in his *Psalms*<sup>2</sup> noted many places in which Lee and Bar Hebraeus stand alone, against Codex Ambrosianus and all other early MSS, including those of Nestorian origin.<sup>3</sup> But the greatest defect of Lee's edition is the want of thoroughness. Then, e.g., in the Prophets, many readings of the *editio princeps* are allowed to stand which could have been corrected immediately from Thorndyke's collation of C, p, u, in the sixth volume of Walton's Polyglot. Nothing was needed but a verification. The result is that Lee's edition contains a large number of readings which have practically no manuscript authority behind them. Barnes<sup>4</sup> found this to be the case in Isaiah, Ezekiel, Psalms, and Chronicles. Cornill<sup>5</sup> and Rahlfs<sup>6</sup> are therefore not quite wrong in their assertion that Lee's edition is essentially a reprint of the text of the Paris and London Polyglots. The

<sup>1</sup> *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel* (Leipzig, 1886), pp. 139 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *The Peshitta Psalter According to the West Syrian Text Edited with an Apparatus Criticus*. Cambridge, 1904.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Rahlfs in *ZATW*, IX (1889), 166 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Expos. Times*, IXm, 12, 561.

<sup>5</sup> *Ezechiel*, p. 140.

<sup>6</sup> *ZATW*, IX (1889), 161 ff.



claim<sup>1</sup> that in Lee's edition we possess a critical text of the Peshitta based on seven MSS and on the commentaries of Ephraem and Bar Hebraeus cannot be sustained. Lee seems to have collated some MSS for his edition of the Peshitta,<sup>2</sup> but no such collation of those MSS has ever appeared in print, and this edition is of little critical value.

In 1852 Rev. Justin Perkins, D.D., an American Protestant missionary, issued a new edition of the Peshitta, printed in Urmia, Persia. It differs in many instances from that of the European editions and follows a great deal the authority of Nestorian MSS. It is a rather heavy quarto, printed in two columns, of which one contains the Peshitta text and the other a modern Syriac version made from the Hebrew. The materials were collected by Dr. Perkins during his residence as a missionary among the so-called Nestorian Christians of Persia.<sup>3</sup> Nestorian Estrangela was used and the Nestorian system applied. The Peshitta text is fully pointed, and as regards text there is a great advancement on Lee's edition. It must, however, be remembered that this edition of the Peshitta is *not independent* of that of Lee. Some books, like Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, were little read among the Nestorians; consequently it can be presumed that of the Book of Chronicles Dr. Perkins did not obtain any MS.<sup>4</sup> The result is that Chronicles in the Urmia edition simply "is a reproduction of  $\mathfrak{S}^L$  in Nestorian characters with Nestorian vowels and with improved spellings. Some of Lee's misprints are corrected, but no variation from  $\mathfrak{S}^L$  may be safely reckoned as a various reading based on manuscript authority."<sup>5</sup> The same is probably true of some other books. But the Urmia text retains many of the imperfections of Lee's edition even in books for which Dr. Perkins certainly used Nestorian MSS. It is true that some of the readings which were adopted are now confirmed by early Jacobite MSS of which Perkins could have known nothing. Yet while the text of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel contains many improvements on Lee, it is marred by the retention of readings which are almost devoid of MS authority. Thus, e.g., in Isa. 16:1  $\mathfrak{S}^u$  and  $\mathfrak{S}^m$  follow  $\mathfrak{S}^L$  in reading ܐܝܠܝܫܝܐ ("I will send") for ܐܝܠܝܫܐ or

<sup>1</sup> J. A. Edgren in *Hebrew Student*, I (1882), 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Class. Jour.*, XXIII (1821), 245 ff.; Hoffmann in *Neues kritisches Journal d. theol. Liter.*, I (1824), 149-61.

<sup>3</sup> See J. Perkins, *Eight Years in Persia* (Andover, 1843), and Gwilliam in *Studia Biblica*, III, 55.

<sup>4</sup> Rahlfs (*ZATW*, IX, 161 ff.) made the assumption that Nestorian MSS were used for  $\mathfrak{S}^u$ .

<sup>5</sup> Barnes, *App. Crit. to Chronicles*, p. xv. Kamenetzky (*ZATW*, XXIV [1904], 194 f.) questions this assertion of Barnes's. The inferiority of the text of the Book of Chronicles in  $\mathfrak{S}^u$  admits of an easy explanation. The Nestorians and partly also the Jacobites excluded Chronicles from their Canon (Nöldeke in *Gött. gel. Anz.* [1868], p. 1826), and MSS containing this book were wanting at Urmia. Dr. Perkins therefore took Chronicles (Barnes in *Journal of Theological Studies*, VI [1905], 221, believes Ezra and Nehemiah also) from some printed text, either from that of the Polyglots or that of Lee and reissued it with a few corrections of small importance.



ܥܝܕ ("send ye"). Thus the printed texts, with one consent, suggest that the Peshitta agrees with the ἀποστολῶ of the LXX against the שלחך of the Massoretic text. The reverse, however, seems to be the case. Barnes<sup>1</sup> examined ten MSS at this passage with altogether different results. The best part of S<sup>a</sup> is, according to Barnes, the text of the Psalms, being full of readings which are to be found in Nestorian and in early West Syrian MSS, but which are absent from the late West Syrian codices. Indeed, Barnes thinks "that for the Psalter at least S<sup>a</sup> leaves little to be done except by conjectural emendation."<sup>2</sup> The text is not perfect, but it seems to be almost as near perfection as that of the best MSS.<sup>3</sup> It may be agreed with G. F. Moore<sup>4</sup> that "on the whole the text of the Urmia Bible is distinctly inferior to that of Lee and the Polyglots. The mere fact that it is based in part, at least, on manuscript authority, however, gives it a certain importance."<sup>5</sup>

The edition of the Peshitta published by the Dominicans of Mosul in 1887-91 contains both the Old and New Testaments. It was issued for the use of the Syrians, Maronites, and Chaldeans, through the efforts of the Syrian Catholic Archbishop of Damascus, Mgr. Clement Joseph David, under the supervision of the Chaldean Archbishop of Amid, Mgr. Gregor Ebedjesus Khayyath. Of all the available printed editions of the Peshitta, this is the most complete, beautiful, and handy. It is thoroughly vocalized, its print is very clear, owing to the use of beautiful Syriac type, and the paper good and lasting. It is therefore surprising that its existence is comparatively unknown. This, however, may be due to the fact that its value for the textual critic is very small, if any whatever. S<sup>m</sup> was issued in the

<sup>1</sup> *Expos. Times*, *ibid.*, p. 561.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Barnes, *Peshitta Psalter*, pp. xxxi f. The Urmia text of the Psalms is superior to Lee's, whatever early authorities, Nestorian or Jacobite, be taken as a standard of excellence. Even judged as a Jacobite text, Lee's is bad. The posthumous work of the great Dutchman Thomas Van Epre (Erpenius), given to the world in 1625 (*Psalmi Davidis Regis et prophetarum lingua syriace . . . versionem Latinam adject.*), is a far better representative of the Western text.

<sup>4</sup> *Andover Review*, VII (January, 1887), 101.

<sup>5</sup> The editors of this edition had access to ancient and valuable Nestorian evidence; but of the age and character of the latter, or of their own critical procedure, the editors seem to have published no account. Dr. Isaac H. Hall noted some facts regarding its publication. "It is absolutely certain that the editors made the MSS. they found in the region the controlling element in settling the text. Of these there were many as old as the twelfth century—scarcely any younger; and here and there one very much older. One was reported to be 1500 years old, which was used, but could not be borrowed. . . . It is easy to account for Dr. Perkins' silence as to the particular sources of his text, as also with respect to its peculiarities. It would not have done, at that time, for a man to have given any public prominence to text critical matters. . . ." (*Studia Biblica*, III, 56, note). It seems also that the editors were frequently guided in deciding between variants by the criterion of agreement with the Massoretic text, a course which, however natural in view of the practical purpose of the edition, greatly impairs its critical value.



interest of church politics. It was the purpose of its Catholic publishers to have it used by the Syrian church in place of the  $\mathfrak{S}^a$  issued by the American Protestant missionaries.<sup>1</sup> That it was published for practical purposes we have the testimony of Alphonse Mingana,<sup>2</sup> who himself had "revised and corrected" the four editions of  $\mathfrak{S}^m$ . This being the case, its value for textual criticism cannot be too great. Since the prefaces to the several volumes of  $\mathfrak{S}^m$  fail to give any account of the MSS used in the preparation of the work, Professor Sebastian Euringer applied to the Dominican missionaries in Mosul for information. In reply he received a communication from P. Bonte (dated March 17, 1899) advising that Mgr. Rahmani, who collaborated in the preparation of  $\mathfrak{S}^m$ , makes the following statement: "Quant à la valeur scientifique de l'édition Peschitta de votre typographie, vous savez que Mgr. David de bonne mémoire avait en considération les catholiques syro-chaldéens, non pas les orientalistes, et par conséquent il a préparé son édition sur celle de protestants et sur un manuscrit du XVII<sup>me</sup> siècle, ayant aussi sous les yeux les textes hébreu, grec et latin."<sup>3</sup>

The printed editions of the Peshitta Old Testament thus far published can hardly be called critical, since their editors either lacked the necessary apparatus or did not consider it prudent to correct the received Syriac text according to the full light of their textual information. It seems that every copy of the printed text of the Peshitta both transmitted and increased errors. The texts of  $\mathfrak{S}^P$ ,  $\mathfrak{S}^W$ , and  $\mathfrak{S}^L$  are generally allowed to count as one witness, because their differences are either misprints or improvements in spelling. Indeed, a mere glance at the differences in these three editions at once indicates that they consist of mere press errors and therefore cannot be considered as variants. Hence it would obviously be useless to regard each one as an independent witness.  $\mathfrak{S}^a$  proves to be substantially no better than  $\mathfrak{S}^L$  and  $\mathfrak{S}^m$ , having no independent textual value whatever. Thus the five available editions of the Peshitta Old Testament in print are practically reducible to one edition, so that the *editio princeps* still represents actually the present state of the printed text of the Peshitta. This being the case there can be no question that a good edition of the Peshitta with a critically revised text is a *desideratum*. It is indeed strange that no edition of the Peshitta has yet been published with that critical care on the part of editors which its antiquity and importance so urgently demand, though the need of it has been pointed out by almost all scholars who perused it.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Arnold Lazarus, *Zur syrischen Uebersetzung d. Buches der Richter* (Kirchhain, 1901), pp. 10 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Expos. Times*, XXVI (1915), 379.

<sup>3</sup> *Biblische Studien*, VI (1901), 122 f.

<sup>4</sup> Nestle in *PRE<sup>3</sup>*, Vol. III; Berg, *The Influence of LXX upon the Peshitta Psalter* (New York, 1895), p. iv; Gotthell in *JAOS*, XXXIII (1913), 263 f., and others. An edition of the Peshitta Old Testament was advertised some years ago from Berlin (Reuther and Reichhard) as in preparation by Baer and Brockelmann.



What are the prospects of such a work? The materials for it are not wanting. The amount and nature of manuscript matter are alike favorable for a revision. The case of the Peshitta differs from that of the Hebrew Masoretic text in that the MSS are not of one family only but fall into two important groups, the larger of which comprises the West Syrian MSS, the smaller, the East Syrian, consisting of Nestorian MSS.<sup>1</sup> Of these the latter seem to be more valuable because they show fewer signs of a revision of the Syriac from Hebrew<sup>2</sup> and Greek sources, which seem to have gone on for some centuries, culminating in the text of Codex F (Laurent. Orient. 58, at Florence). The agreement of the Western group with the Eastern is generally to be taken as decisive in giving us the reading which was most widely current toward the end of the fifth century, before the formal separation of the Nestorians from the Western Syriac-speaking church.<sup>3</sup> It is safer to assume with Barnes that the agreement of typically Nestorian MSS with typically Western MSS in books freely received by Nestorians and Western Syrians alike is the best guaranty we can possibly obtain for the genuineness of any reading of the Peshitta.

It may generally be said that the number of good MSS is large. The British Museum, of course, stands supreme with its collection, for, besides a Pentateuch of the fifth-century and sixth-century MSS of Isaiah, Psalms, and other important books, it possesses a mass of MSS both of East and West Syrian origin, covering nearly the whole Old Testament and the Apocrypha. Italy possesses the great Codex Ambrosianus of the whole Old Testament, now made common property by Cariani's photolithographic edition.<sup>4</sup> Berlin has two important Nestorian MSS. Cambridge has a collection of Nestorian MSS, two of importance, together with a good Edessene MS of the Prophets and the great "Buchanan Bible," containing the Old and New Testaments with Apocrypha, but sadly injured by time and by the climate of India.<sup>5</sup> America, too, is in possession of a few important MSS, found in the Museum of the Union Theological Seminary, while Harvard University owns besides several other important MSS "an old and excellent manuscript of the Historical Books and the Wisdom of the Old Testament, of Nestorian origin."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This division was made already by Bar Hebraeus in his scholia on Ps. 10:5.

<sup>2</sup> Nöldeke thinks it improbable that the Peshitta was revised in accordance with the Massoretic text after the third century. See *ZATW*, XIV, 222, and XXIV, 186.

<sup>3</sup> Rahlfs (*ZATW*, IX [1889], 163-64) has overstated the fact in saying that mutual influence of the groups of MSS is practically to be counted nil, "so gut wie ausgeschlossen," but cf. Barnes, *Expos. Times*, IX, 561.

<sup>4</sup> *Translatio Syra Peshitto Veteris Testamenti ex codice Ambrosiano* (Milan, 1876-83). Despite Cornill's unfavorable opinion (*Ezechiel*, pp. 140-54) this codex seems to be "the most valuable authority which we possess for the Peshitta text of the Old Testament" (Barnes, *App. Crit.*, p. xxi).

<sup>5</sup> This MS was sent out to the Syriac-speaking Christians of the Malabar coast perhaps in the seventeenth century and was written in the twelfth century.

<sup>6</sup> George F. Moore, article "Judges" in *ICC*, p. 67.



It is clear, then, that the labor before the next editor of the Peshitta will be very great, but the gain should be worth all the labor which can be bestowed. Barnes, on the basis of his own collations, came to the conclusion "that when all is done, when the best MSS have been used to the full, many readings will remain which will bear the appearance of corruptions of the original. We shall not obtain a perfect Peshitta, but we shall obtain one in which all the books will reach the high level obtained by the Psalter in S<sup>a</sup>." But what we need is a text of the Peshitta restored as closely as possible to that which the Syrian church read in the fifth century or earlier, a text fit to take its place beside the best critical editions of the Hebrew original and its Greek version.

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#### IVORY AND APES OF OPHIR

In *AJSL*, XXXVI, 103-19, Clark has placed biblical scholars in his debt by laying the ghost of an East Indian Ophir which still haunts our handbooks. Owing to a pardonable lack of acquaintance with the Egyptian material, however, he has arrived at wholly negative results where positive are attainable. I Kings 10:22, וְקֹפִים וְחִיִּים וְטֹהָבִים should be rendered: "ivory, *gp*-monkeys and *kyy*-monkeys." טֹהָבִים is literally "tooth of elephants," Eg. *ḥw*, and is identical in formation with the Assyrian compound *šinni-piri*, "ivory," pronounced approximately *sinniptr*, possibly the etymon of the puzzling טֹהָבִים, supposed to mean "fin," but perhaps "tusk." The form וְחִיִּים instead of וְקֹפִים (*kyy* occurs with *gp* in Egyptian texts) is, if the ו is not merely dittography, perhaps on a par with Ar. *timsāḥ*, "crocodile," from Coptic *emsāḥ*. The feminine article *t* with a masculine noun points to a loan from a very corrupt border jargon. Assyr. *namsuḥu* = *nemsōḥ* is a correct form with the plural article.

There can be little doubt that Ophir corresponds roughly to the African coast between Port Sūdān and Berbera in the Somaliland, Eg. *Pwnt*, which I have identified with Sumerian *Meluḡa* (see *JEA*, VI, 90-92).<sup>2</sup> The gold of Ophir presumably came from the auriferous region between the latitude of Esneh and Abyssinia (Reissner, *JEA*, VI, 79). The Rhodesian mirage has long since been dissipated, and the same is now true of Glaser's identification of Ophir with Hüsing's Hapirti, now known to read Hatamti = Adam-dun in western Elam (Scheil, *DEP*, X, 2 f.). The Egyptian appearance of the word אֹפִיר (cf. *Ūsir*, *Ostr*) points to a passage of the word through Egyptian mouths; the hieroglyphic form would be \**ḥprw*. The tree-name

<sup>1</sup> *Expos. Times*, IX (September, 1898), 562.

<sup>2</sup> It is quite unnecessary to include the peninsula of Sinai under the term *Meluḡa*, since malachite abounds in the Nubian desert, as I am informed by a mining engineer now working (June, 1920) in that region.



*almug*, or better *algum* (אלגום and אלגים point to an original אלגם) cannot be Assyr. *elammaku*, but may represent, I would suggest, the *Acacia arabica*, from which gum arabic is obtained, and which ranges from Esneh to Abyssinia (Muschler, *Manual Flora of Egypt*, 1,460). It may be noted that κόμμη, "gum," is a loan from some foreign language, perhaps from Arabic (cf. Ar. *gamma*, "collect, of liquid"), so *algum* may be an Arabic word meaning "the gum."

While endorsing the conclusions of the article mentioned above, one cannot but regret a certain *Spitzfindigkeit*, characteristic also of *AJSL*, XXXIII, 261-82. Most of the conclusions of the latter article may now be rejected, the occurrence of Indo-Iranian elements among the Hittites and Mitanni being triumphantly vindicated by the discovery of a whole series of borrowed Indo-Iranian numerals in the tablets from Boghaz-keui.

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#### THE PRINCIPLE OF DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN "THE WORD OF THE LORD" AND "THE ANGEL OF THE LORD"

Of the phrases in use in the Old Testament to describe the medium of revelation, two of the commonest are "the word of the Lord" and "the angel of the Lord," and their synonymous character is no longer obscured by immature conceptions of revelation. The difference between science and romance in biblical exegesis has at length been formally recognized in all circles of Bible study where any degree of competency may be claimed. There is henceforth no danger of a return or a relapse to that primitive conception of angels in which the imaginative elements are definitely identified with the spiritual reality underlying the description; and though the "word of the Lord" under the hypostasizing tendencies of Jewish Hellenism meant more than a mere technicality of revelation, it is clear that its original use was free from the peculiar philosophy of emanations (*dunameis*) with which it was so closely associated in the course of a developing theology. In reading such a passage as Gen. 15:1, "the word of the Lord came to Abram in a vision," or Gen. 16:7, "the angel of the Lord found her by a fountain of water," the synonymy of these two expressions is patent, inasmuch as they are two different ways of saying the same thing, namely, that something was revealed by God to Abram and Hagar respectively. Clearly, then, they are to be interpreted exegetically as technicalities of revelation.

But no less clearly as they are identical in regard to their fundamental significance do they differentiate the specific manner of the revelation itself; that is to say, the respective phrases indicate a difference in the origin or



source of the idea (revelation being essentially a matter of ideas). Now, since we cannot reasonably say that in one case the message (the "word") came audibly as though the voice of deity were actually heard in a realistic manner, nor in the other instance that a being (the "angel"), such as might be pictured in the imagination, personally delivered the message, and thus distinguish in a literal way between the two forms or modes of revelation, what may we understand to be the nice meaning?

Since the question has to do with the manner of revelation the answer must proceed from some basic notion of what revelation is fundamentally. The Old Testament meaning of revelation is expressed by the verb גָּלָה "to uncover" (to make bare, open), used in the Piel or intensive degree, i.e., in effect, to disclose some fact or truth which is deeply hidden or naturally obscure and bring it out into the light of human knowledge. Fundamentally, then, revelation does not connote a communication about something outside of the concrete situation in which it takes place or functions, as though God, e.g., were informing man concerning the mysteries of "heaven" or concerning realities disconnected with human life. Rather it denotes the clearing up of obscure situations, the solving of abstruse problems, the removing of irrelevant or incompatible coverings, whether of fact or fancy, which nebulously becloud the pertinent reals as they are in human experience and principally as they are in situations peculiarly spiritual.

Consequently the agencies or instrumentalities of revelation must function to this effect and be of such a sort as are immanent in particular conditions of existence. If, then, revelation is the bringing of an idea clearly before the mind, an idea interpretative of problematic situations (problematic by virtue of the specific nature of events), is it imperative to look for the origin of the clarifying notion outside of the concrete circumstance, the definite occasion which gives opportunity for efficient causes to operate? Must an "angel" be introduced out of the blue transcendently, or need a superhuman voice be postulated to account for the efficiency of the solution revealed? It would hardly seem that we are driven to such extremities of interpretation while holding to the reality of the revelation in question. On the contrary, experience is manifestly too good a teacher to omit reference to certain natural suggestions first of all.

All suggestions, certainly all intelligent suggestions—dreams being psychologically the "work of the devil"—may be classified according to the old categories (which still hold good here) as subjective and objective, or ideas generated from within consciousness and ideas produced from suggestions caused by something outside consciousness. (Whether ultimately all ideas may be traced to causes or stimuli outside consciousness need not detain us here.) For instance, though examples may seem superfluous, if one is alone and thirsting in the desert and suddenly stumbles upon a spring of water, this clear sparkling spring may suggest an idea to him or confirm the truth of some idea, the value of which had not been previously accepted



in any convincing degree. Again, if at times one is cut off in thought or meditation from the objective world so that one's consciousness is not directly functioning there without, though at the time there may be no awareness that the sphere of consciousness is thus reduced or limited in extension, and abruptly (perhaps out of the subliminal self, though not necessarily) there crowds into the center of attention or reflection some determining thought which tends to clear up and regulate purposively a mixed vision of truth, this specific illumination of the intellectual *mélange* may properly be designated as subjective in respect to causal agencies in contradistinction to the former instance where the instrumentality functioning was objective; at any rate, it may be said to be relatively *more* subjective than the former experience.

There is no real or practical difficulty (barring the deeper metaphysical aspects of the case) about subjective and objective suggestions or intimations, thoughts originating from within, the origin of which cannot be determined in an exact manner, and thoughts mediated from without whose origination can easily be connected with a definite object or event. Either case may be a valid instance of the uncovering (revealing) of hidden fact or the clarification of a blurred or misty mental state by exposing the bare realities therein; and when the experience is sufficiently spiritual and the solution original enough to warrant a claim of inspiration we may call the whole process revelation. In fine, it is simply a question whether the mind is more or less curtailed in the extensiveness of its operation, or, to put it another way, whether the experience may be described as immediate or mediate.

We may now retrace our line of thought back to the scriptural technicalities of revelation, viz., the "word" and the "angel" of the Lord. Here are two phrases which are one in meaning so far as they signify revelation. They differ, however, as to kind. As to kind or mode of revelation, the "word" of the Lord implies an idea whose source is peculiarly subjective, and the "angel" of the Lord implies a suggestion that arrives objectively from without and is definitely connected with a specific thing. The "angelic" suggestion is more elementary and spontaneous; the inner conviction of the "word," or meaning, is more mature and deliberate.

Let us apply briefly this principle of discrimination to the two passages of Genesis we have selected. Abram was thinking over his line of succession. Who should be his heir? And the heir meant the heir of his spiritual quest. The Syrian? This was a disturbing thought. They were not qualified to continue his religious pilgrimage.<sup>1</sup> Then the conviction came to him that a new line should begin with himself. Whence came the idea? It is only necessary for our thesis to state that it was not suggested by some vivid objective thing—at any rate directly.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I am treating the subject according to the point of view of the narrator.

<sup>2</sup> This view is borne out by the circumstances of the "vision." The root  $\text{רָאָה}$  is a poetical synonym for  $\text{רָאָה}$ . Consequently seeing in the mind's eye is implied.



And similarly with Hagar. She was wandering, it is written, in the wilderness, having been expelled by Sarah, her mistress, for contempt. The important thing was what to do in the present predicament, especially since she was with child. Naturally it was a well of water that decided her to remain in the wilderness.<sup>1</sup>

Conclusions may now be drawn. We have sought to distinguish between the meaning of the phrases "the word of the Lord" and "the angel of the Lord" when employed as technicalities of revelation.<sup>2</sup> By generalizing one occurrence of each phrase, the conclusion may be reached that there is simply a difference in the subjectivity or the objectivity of the suggestion, the efficacy of which in spiritual circumstances of vital importance inclines us to assert that the idea is "of the Lord."

Whether this generalization is consistently borne out in all documents of a like character or in the majority of Old Testament passages dealing with revelation under the terms "word" and "angel" may be left to the student to discover. However, to blaze the way inductively toward such a final conclusion two striking instances may be recorded which supply additional confirmation of the objectivity of the revelational source designated by the term "angel." In Gen. 22:11-13 the angel-mode of expression is employed in connection with the objective situation of the "ram caught in the thicket"; and in Exod. 3:2 the objective source of revelation being indicated by the "burning bush," the narrator uses the technical expression "the angel of the Lord" rather than the correlative phrase "the word of the Lord." Again, where the nature of revelation is one of judgment based upon inner reflection and not derived or inferred from some striking object of immediate experience such passages as I Sam. 15:10, II Sam. 7:4, I Kings 17:2, etc., may be cited. Indeed the stereotyped use of this phrase in the mouth of the great prophets indicates unambiguously that their ideas are generated as the result of profound reflective judgment and are not owing to direct suggestions dependent upon and derived from singular objective phenomena such as might justify in the naïve conception of the process of revelation the use of the term "angel."

Thus it would appear, granting that our generalization can be substantiated by a complete induction, that the preference for the term "angel" in accounts of revelation was dictated by a necessity in Hebrew psychology to distinguish the objective and the subjective sources of ideas attributed to divine inspiration. When the prophetic consciousness became more matured the use of "angel" was generally discarded in favor of the term "word" and synchronously the prophetic consciousness realized more accurately that the real nature of revelation belongs more to the inner man than to exterior

<sup>1</sup> I discard the redactional addition in vss. 9-10.

<sup>2</sup> I do not mean to say that the writer was consciously using a technicality. Though he expected his reader to take the narrative literally, nevertheless so far as the real situation is concerned the choice of phrases was governed in Hebrew psychology by the distinction I am proposing.



sources and that the origin of revealed ideas is more generally subjective than objective.

Our conclusion regarding the objective character of "angelic" revelation incidentally throws light upon the larger subject of Old Testament angelology or at least upon that department of it in which angels are treated as the bearers or messengers of revelation. Striking phenomena in critical situations which are spiritually significant of the will of God become the peculiar *terrain* of an angel. Thus natural phenomenal functioning in the interest of divine purposes for man is designated by a method of personification as angel. An angel then may be properly defined as just this, namely, some phenomenal aspect of nature which functions to manifest the particular will of God. For example, "the chariots of God are thousands of angels," or "making winds his angels, a burning fire his servants."<sup>1</sup>

Quite contrary then to the ordinary understanding angels are in essence not noumenal but phenomenal beings. While, on the other hand, that which is essentially noumenal and spiritual is connoted by the expression "the word of the Lord."

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## A STUDY OF רָעַם

### I

While all authorities agree that רָעַם means *thunder* most of them render רָעַמָּה *mane* and almost all are unanimous in admitting that the origin of the latter word is unknown or at least uncertain.

In הִתְלַבֵּשׁ צִוְאָרָיו רָעַמָּה (Job 39:19) the Peshitta renders רָעַמָּה by ܪܡܢܐ, thus differing from all other translations by taking רָעַמָּה as *armor*. A.V. simply translates "Hast thou clothed his neck with thunder" (!) while R.V. changes *thunder* to *quivering mane*.<sup>2</sup> The LXX ἐνέδυσας δὲ τραχήλῳ αὐτοῦ φόβον seems to render רָעַמָּה *terror* (from ὁ φόβος) though a lexicon<sup>3</sup> has (under רָעַמָּה) "φοβῆ=mane."

Coming, however, to the latest lexicons we are confronted by the fact that all of them agree that רָעַמָּה is *mane* although *none supplies any satisfactory proof*. Gesenius-B.D.B.<sup>4</sup> renders רָעַמָּה "*vibration? quivering mane?*" (both with queries) and adds that the meaning is "very uncertain." Gesenius-Buhl<sup>5</sup> tells us: "רָעַמָּה ist ein unsicheres Wort, meistens m: Mähne

<sup>1</sup> Ps. 68:17; 104:4.

<sup>2</sup> R.V. margin reads: Heb. "Shaking."

<sup>3</sup> Ges.-Tregelles s.v.

<sup>4</sup> Oxford Heb. Lexicon, 1906 s.v.

<sup>5</sup> Heb. u. Aram. Handwörterbuch, 1915.



übersetzt . . . ." and "Zittern . . . die einzig gesicherte *Bed. Lärmen, Toben passt hier nicht.*" König<sup>1</sup> disagrees with this last remark and renders the word "*Dröhnen . . . meton. Beben, Geschüttele st. seines Subjekts: flatternde Mähne.*" "Diese Bedeutung," he adds, "ist also metonymisch ableitbar u. deshalb ist 'Dröhnen, Toben' nicht 'die einzig gesicherte Bedeutung' (as Gesenius-Buhl asserts) zu nennen." Siegfried and Stade<sup>2</sup> translate: "Das Zittern, Gezitter," and Job 39:19 is rendered "bekleidest du seinen Hals mit Gezitter" with the explanation "gewöhnlich als poet. Beschreibung der Pferde-mähne, v. andern auf die zitternden Bewegungen des Halses gedeutet."

But our difficulty does not end with רעם. Can the noun רעם or the verb רעם always mean *thunder*? Take for instance ψ 80(81):7(8)

אֶנְקָה בְּסֵתֶר רַעַם

A.V. and R.V., "I answered thee in the secret place of thunder." LXX *ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ καταγίγδος*. What does the *secret place of thunder* mean? Duhm explains, "In the cloud which hides the thunder and at the same time veils God from sight (Job 22:18)." "This is no doubt a worthy explanation," remarks the writer on "thunder" in the *E.B.*,<sup>3</sup> but the Hebrew phrase does not appear to suit the parallelism."

Such a sentence as רַעַם הָיָם וְגִלְיָאֵן (ψ 96:11; 98:7; I Chron. 16:32) cannot simply mean as A.V. translates "Let the sea roar." Gesenius sees the difficulty and explains it thus: "Let the sea thunder (in praise, שִׁמְחָה, etc.)." But is it really natural to say *thunder in praise*? And, further, how is רַעַם logically or philologically connected with שִׁמְחָה, גִּיל, עֵלֶז? The LXX in I Chron. 16:32 *βομβήσῃ*, in ψ 96(95):11 and 98(97):7 *σαλευθήτω*, etc., does not carry us much farther.

A similarly difficult expression, if רַעַם="thunder," meets us in Job 26:14: רַעַם גְּבוּרָתוֹ. A.V., "but the thunder of his power"; R.V. margin, "the thunder of his mighty deeds." But "the thunder of one's power" is an unheard-of expression and the "thunder of one's mighty deeds" is almost equally strange. Again II Sam. 22:14:

(a) יָרַעַם מִן שָׁמַיִם ה'

(b) וְעֲלִיֹן יִתֵּן קוֹלוֹ

If (a) = "the Lord *thundereth* from heaven, *ἐβρόντησεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κύριος*" (II Kings 22:14), then (b) is a repetition of (a) since the usual words for thunder are קוֹל ה'.

<sup>1</sup> *Heb. u. Aram. Wörterbuch zum A.T.*, 1910.

<sup>2</sup> *Heb. Wörterbuch zum A.T.*, 1873.

<sup>3</sup> P. 5064.

<sup>4</sup> *Thunder* is much more frequently קוֹל ה' (*E.B.*, p. 5064).



יִרְעַם בְּקוֹל גְּאוֹנוֹ (Job 37:4) would also have to be rendered "He thundereth with the thunder," etc. A.V., "He thundereth with the voice of his excellency," R.V., "He thundereth with the voice of his majesty," are better English but do not present a very elegant picture. Imagine: He in his majesty, or excellency, standing *with open mouth making a noise* which turns into thunder!

רָעַם שׂוֹרִים וְתוֹרִיעָה (Job 39:25) is one of the most difficult phrases. The A.V. and R.V. rendering "the thunder of captains and shouting" has no support in the LXX which has here quite a different reading, σὺν ἀλματι καὶ κρουγῇ.

שִׁעָרָה שִׁעָרָה רַעְבָּה פָּנִים (Ezek. 27:35) is rendered by A.V., "They shall be troubled in their countenance," which R.V. accepts but changes "shall be" to "are" troubled. Both differ from LXX καὶ ἐδάκρυσε τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ and neither gives a translation suitable to רַעְבָּה either in point of etymology or place in context.

## II

It is true that some of the last-mentioned difficulties can be explained away in one way or other; but *taking them together* one is forced to admit, particularly when one considers a sentence like אֶעֱנֶךָ בְּסֵתֶר רַעַם ("I will answer thee in the secret place of thunder"), that some better explanation is required. I propose to show that רַעַם had originally a meaning quite different from "thunder" and that this last signification is only a later development of its original meaning. My argument is not a *reductio ad absurdum*, based only on the difficulties mentioned above. It is founded on quite independent and, I venture to think, irrefutable evidence.

## III

As is well known, the Peshitta or Syriac version of the O.T. is not the work of one translator. While it no doubt contains some late renderings influenced by the LXX it contains also a number of very ancient passages which have their origin in an age when the translators could not possibly have been subjected to the influence of the Greek translations. The Peshitta is generally called the Queen of Versions and no doubt, as Professor Margolis says,<sup>1</sup> was made *from the Hebrew* with the assistance of Jews, combining with *fidelity to the original* elegance of style and embodying elements of interpretation *rooted in Jewish tradition*.<sup>2</sup> According to Dr. Driver<sup>3</sup> the Syriac version dates "*in the main* from the early part of the second century A.D." But "the Peshitta is not the work of a single hand"<sup>4</sup> and, as I said before,

<sup>1</sup> Max L. Margolis, *The Story of Bible Translations* (1917), pp. 44 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. H. Graetz, *Monatsschrift für Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judenthums* (1878), p. 486, and T. H. Weir, *Heb. Text of O.T.* (1899), p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> S. R. Driver, *Notes on Samuel* (1913), p. II.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. II-III.



contains elements of a very ancient date. I maintain that these elements have preserved for us many an *ancient signification* which has been forgotten in later times when the word it represents assumed or developed a different meaning. There can be no doubt that those ancient Syriac translators knew their Hebrew much better than any of the other Bible translators, and, since they translated direct from the Hebrew, their work is of inestimable value to the Bible student. Had we been able to say with certainty of every passage in the Peshitta, this is, or is not, the work of the first translators, we should certainly always have followed those ancient renderings in preference to any others. Those ancients were nearer the fountain-head of the Hebrew language and their waters must, therefore, have been the purest.

## IV

Now, out of *thirteen verbal* and *six* (or seven if רַעַם is included) *noun* forms of רַעַם that occur in the O.T. the Peshitta renders at least two of them by a verb and a noun of the root of מַגֵּד ("glory").

"In the secret place of thunder" (בְּסֻתְרֵי רַעַם) ψ 80(81):7(8) is, "In the secret place of *glory*" = מַגֵּד, and יִרְעַם הָיִים, I Chron. 16:32 (A.V. and R.V., "Let the sea roar"; LXX, βομβήσαι ἢ θάλασσα), is in the Peshitta: "Let the sea glory" (or glorify) = נִמְגֵּד.

A third place may be added, viz., ψ 96:11, where the rendering is, "Let the sea *exult*" (or *rejoice greatly*) = נִתְפַּחַּן, which may have quite a logical connection with *glory*.

These renderings must have come down from a very ancient date and having been incorporated in the complete text of the Peshitta have preserved for us a signification of רַעַם which was anterior to that of "thunder." It will soon be shown how this Syriac rendering removes many a difficulty from many a meaningless verse in the O.T. and throws a clear light on many another. But let me first indicate how רַעַם has developed.

## V

a) Originally רַעַם meant *glory*,<sup>1</sup> as the two or three renderings preserved from antiquity in the Peshitta, just quoted, clearly show.

b) To the ancient Hebrews thunder had a special sanctity as the expression of the divine omnipotence.<sup>2</sup> Being the "most sublime of natural phenomena" it is represented by a poetical echo of primitive myth as the voice of God.<sup>3</sup> "Psalm 24 is throughout a sublime poetic description of a thunderstorm and its effects, though the name רַעַם does not once occur in it, but only the often repeated phrase 'קוֹל ה'.'"<sup>4</sup> No wonder, therefore, that

<sup>1</sup> Glory in a transitive sense would of course = praise.

<sup>2</sup> E.B., p. 5064.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> James Patrick, *Hastings' Dic. of the Bible*, p. 757.



the word רָעַם which = *glory* was applied to this "most sublime of natural phenomena" and the "poetically and popularly regarded voice of God," viz., *thunder*.

c) Once רָעַם assumed the signification of "thunder" it naturally developed the meaning of *motion, trembling*, preserved in the Syriac ܢܝܬ (ψ 98:7) and ܫܥܝܬ (Job 39:25).

d) From *trembling* to *agitation, perturbation of mind, grieving* is only a small step, and this last development has been preserved in I Sam. 1:6, ܒַּעֲבוּר ܗܪַעֲמָהּ, which is rendered by the Syriac: "in order to grieve her," almost the same as A.V. and R.V. "for to make her fret."

## VI

All passages in M.T. in which רָעַם occurs either in a verbal or in a noun form can be conveniently classified under one or other of these four groups according as they would bear the signification of (a) *glory*, (b) *thunder*, (c) *motion or trembling*, and (d) *agitation, perturbation, or grieving*.

To Class (a) may belong the following:

(I Chron. 16:32; ψ 96:11; 98:7) יִרְעֵם הַיָּם = Let the sea glory (or praise).

(ψ 80[81]:7[8]) אֶעֱנֶה בְּסֵתֶר רָעַם = I will answer thee in the secret place of glory.

(Job 26:14) וְיִרְעֵם גְּבוּרָתוֹ מִי יִתְבּוֹן = But who can understand the glory of his mighty deeds.

(II Sam. 22:14) ה' יִרְעֵם מִן שָׁמַיִם = The Lord shows his glory from heaven.

(Job 37:4) יִרְעֵם בְּקוֹל גְּאוֹנוֹ = He glories (or exults) with the voice of his majesty.

The difficulties connected with the other translations of these passages have already been pointed out and it will readily be seen how the signification of *glory* embodied in the new rendering given here removes them all.

וַיִּרְעֵם בְּשָׁמַיִם ה' וַעֲלִיזוּ יִתָּן קוֹלוֹ (ψ 18:14) presents the same difficulty as II Sam. 22:14 (mentioned above), but if it is rendered: "And the Lord gloried in heaven, And the Most High uttered his voice," not only is the difficulty removed but verse 14 becomes at once parallel to verse 13, the first line corresponding to "at the *brightness* before him."

I Sam. 2:10 יִרְעֵם עָלָיו בְּשָׁמַיִם may also belong to this class:

The adversaries of the Lord shall be broken,  
In the heavens shall be *glory* over them,  
The Lord shall judge the ends of the earth,  
And he shall give strength unto his king.

Although "thunder" in place of "glory" does not spoil the sense much, it necessitates a change from בְּשָׁמַיִם (in the heaven) to מִשְׁמַיִם (A.V. "out of heaven"). The LXX contains after κύριος ἀνέβη εἰς οὐρανὸν ("the



Lord has gone up to heaven") καὶ ἐβρόντησεν ("and thundered"). This suggests a reading **וַיִּרְעַם עֲלֶיהָ** instead of the M.T. reading just quoted. But since the LXX here differs from the Hebrew text it can throw no light on the meaning of the M.T. reading of the passage and does not enter into our discussion.

To this class belongs **רַעְמָהּ**. The mane is so called because it symbolizes the glory of the animal. Cf. **קֶרֶן** (horn) which symbolizes *strength, dignity* (I Sam. 1:10), also *haughtiness, arrogance*<sup>1</sup> (ψ 75:5, 6).

To Class (b) the following passages belong:

ψ 29:3 **יְיָ אֱלֹהֵי הַפָּדוֹר הִרְעָם**=The God of glory thundereth (A.V.).

Syriac: **ܐܠܗܐ ܡܡܥܠܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ**.

This sentence is almost an explanation of the preceding sentence **יְיָ קוֹל ה' עַל הַמַּיִם**.

(I Sam. 7:10) **וַיִּרְעַם ה'**=And the Lord thundereth.

Syriac: **ܣܘܢܚܐ ܡܢܗ**.

(Job 40:9[8]) **וְבִקְוֹל פִּמְהוֹ תִּרְעַם**=Canst thou thunder with a voice like him?

Syriac: **ܣܘܢܚܐ ܐܢܬ ܥܡܠܐ ܐܡܠܐ**.

(Job 37:5) **יְיָ אֱלֹהֵי הַרְעָם**=God shall thunder (ܣܘܢܚܐ ܐܠܗܐ)

(ψ 77:19) **קוֹל רַעְמָהּ**=the voice of thy thunder.

(ψ 104:7) **קוֹל רַעְמָהּ**=at the voice of thy thunder.

To Class (c) belongs, according to the Peshitta, **יְרַעַם הַיָּם** in ψ 98:7 which is rendered **ܢܝܣܐ ܡܢܐ** (**ܢܝܣܐ** from **ܢܝܣ**=to be in motion).

**ܢܝܣܐ ܡܢܐ** (Isa. 29:6) may be classed either under Class (b) or Class (c). But it should be noted that at the time when this verse was rendered into the Syriac of the Peshitta the meanings of **רַעַם** given under Classes (b) and (c) have become almost synonymous, so that **רַעַם** and **רַעַשׁ** were interchanged. This is probably the explanation why the Syriac renders these two words by **ܣܘܢܚܐ ܡܢܐ** as if **ܣܘܢܚܐ**=**ܢܝܣܐ** and **ܣܘܢܚܐ**=**ܣܘܢܚܐ**!

**ܣܘܢܚܐ ܡܢܐ** in Job 39:25 should, according to the Peshitta, be classed under (c), **ܣܘܢܚܐ ܡܢܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ**. The LXX, *σὺν ἄλματι καὶ κρουγῇ*, assumes here a different reading.

Of Class (d) only one instance is found in the O.T., viz., I Sam. 1:6: **וַיַּעַזְבֵּהָ**=“to make her fret” (A.V.), Syriac: **ܡܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ**. The LXX has here also quite a different reading and need not, therefore, be considered here.

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Gesenius, *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon*, s.v. **קֶרֶן**.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Hastings' Dic. of the Bible*, p. 757: “In the O.T. thunder is both poetically described and popularly regarded as the voice of God.”



## VII

We are now left with only one more verb of the root of רָעַם preserved in our M.T., viz., Ezek. 27:35, רָעַמְךָ פָּנִים. This would not easily stand classification under any of the classes described. But as both the Peshitta סִפְחָא אִפְסַח and the LXX, καὶ ἐδάκρυσε τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, differ from M.T. by reading רָעַמְךָ instead of רָעַמְךָ, most scholars would probably prefer an emendation. Rothstein, in fact, suggests in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* (1906) חָרַרְךָ for רָעַמְךָ. If רָעַמְךָ must be retained it should be classed under (c).

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## Book Reviews

### SYNAGOGUE POETRY

The huge store of Hebrew manuscripts discovered by the late Solomon Schechter in the Cairo Genizah and brought to Cambridge, has again provided material for a valuable contribution to Jewish archaeology.<sup>1</sup> Facsimiles of a number of palimpsests from the Genizah manuscripts were published in 1897 and 1900 by F. Crawford Burkitt and Charles Taylor. The lower writing on these palimpsests proved to be part of a synagogue copy of Aquila's Greek translation of the Bible. As to the superior writing, that on nine of the seventeen plates was identified as parts of the Talmud Yerushalmi and of the Midrash, and the remaining eight plates (two in Taylor's book and six in Burkitt's) have now been identified by Dr. Davidson as leaves from the cycle of synagogue poetry composed by Yannai, a liturgical poet of the seventh century. The amount of text found is only the merest fragment of what was the whole *Mahzor* of Yannai, inasmuch as the book was originally written for the three-year cycle of Torah reading followed in Palestine and in Egypt. Only seven *Ḳeroboth* were found in the palimpsest and there must have been over one hundred and fifty; furthermore not one of the seven is complete. But scant though the material is, Dr. Davidson has succeeded in deriving from it a number of valuable conclusions as to the work of Yannai, and as to the history of the development of the piut in general. The chief value, therefore, of the book before us is not so much as a text, but as to the light that these few fragments throw upon Jewish literary history.

The fragments, as Dr. Davidson shows, prove beyond doubt the existence of a complete book of Yannai's poetry with a *ḳerobah* for each sabbath of the triennial cycle. Zedekiah b. Abraham Anaw (thirteenth century) quotes R. Gershom as saying that Yannai was "one of the ancient sages who composed *ḳeroboth* for every order (*seder*) of the year"; and Poznansky (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, XV, 77) published a book list found among the Genizah fragments, in which list "The Poems of Yannai" are mentioned. Dr. Davidson shows that these fragments which he found in the Genizah are based upon the successive weekly portions beginning Leviticus 13:29, 14:1, 14:33, 15:1, 15:25, and also 21:1, 22:17, thus proving that they are part of a larger and complete work, the hitherto lost *Mahzor* of Yannai.

The editor is also able to prove with more exactitude than hitherto possible, the date of Yannai's activity. It has been known since 1879

<sup>1</sup> *Mahzor Yannai, a Liturgical Work of the Seventh Century*. Edited from Genizah fragments by Israel Davidson, with additional notes by Louis Ginzberg. New York Jewish Theological Seminary, 1919, xlix+55+iv pages.



that Yannai lived at some time before Anan, the founder of the Karaitic sect, for Harkavy in *Ha-Magid* (Vol. XXIII [1879], p. 359) quotes Kirkisani, a tenth-century Karaite, to the effect that Anan took some of his halachic views from Yannai. But Dr. Davidson is able to fix the date more exactly; he notices that the verses given at the close of the first and second sections of each *Ḳerobah* are precisely the ones that are used as proems in *Leviticus Rabba*. Thus we have a *terminus a quo*, namely after *Leviticus Rabba* was fairly well edited, i.e., not earlier than the middle of the seventh century. The fact, moreover, that the *Ḳeroboth* are grouped around the three-year cycle supports the probability that Yannai was a Palestinian.

Some conclusions are also drawn as to the history of the piut literature in general. The fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth sections of each *Ḳerobah* is halachic in character, dealing with the laws found in the scriptural section to which the poem is attached, thus indicating that the piut was not originally midrashic or devotional in character, i.e., not exclusively so, but that it was used as a vehicle for instructing the people in the law. This supports the remark of Judah ben Barzillai (twelfth century) in *Sefer Haittim*, that at a certain time the laws were taught to the people through the medium of piutim. On page xli of the Introduction the editor offers a gratuitous justification for the use of such unseemly material as the laws of leprosy in the poems of Yannai. Since Yannai's poems are clearly halachic in character and in intention, and since they cover the whole Pentateuch, it is inevitable that he should deal with the laws of leprosy; and if we had the whole *Mahzor* of Yannai before us, we would find him dealing with the laws of injury in Exodus, and with the laws of levirate marriage in Deuteronomy. So the presence of laws of leprosy in the rhymed halacha of Yannai requires no more justification than does its presence in the unrhymed halacha of the *Mishna*.

In section 8 of his Introduction the editor gives a valuable analysis of the structure of Yannai's *Ḳeroboth*. He shows that a complete *Ḳerobah* contains nine distinct parts, each one in its place in the Tefilla and each one with distinct structural characteristics. Considering that Dr. Davidson had only seven fragments to compare and not one of them quite complete, the analysis is quite an achievement. The analysis will give a standard by which to judge whatever poems of Yannai may in the future be unearthed to see whether they are complete or not. Indeed the editor applied the test to the one *Ḳerobah* of Yannai of which we have hitherto known, namely the *Ḳerobah* for the Great Sabbath, One Pitre Raḥamathaim, and was able to demonstrate that four sections, and part of a fifth, are missing. The author includes this *Ḳerobah* and one other and a *silluk*, thus giving us all the poetry of Yannai extant. The notes added by Ginzberg are mostly halachic in character and are a great aid to the understanding of the laws referred to in the piutim.

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## Short Notices

FECHHEIMER, HEDWIG, *Die Plastik der Ägypter*. Zweite Auflage.<sup>1</sup> Berlin: Bruno Cassirer Verlag, 1914.

A handy volume by Miss Hedwig Fechheimer on Egyptian architecture and sculpture is now available. It contains 156 fine half-tones of representative works "chosen not for their historical or philological significance but for their artistic value." The field of Egyptian sculpture (but excluding architecture) was elaborately illustrated not long since by von Bissing.<sup>2</sup> But while his work will be found almost wholly in great libraries, Miss Fechheimer's book is suited in size and price to popular use. M. Capart, of the Brussels Museums, planned similarly a few years earlier to make more conveniently and cheaply accessible the greatest monuments of Egyptian art, and he has thus far published two series of well-chosen reproductions.<sup>3</sup> But Miss Fechheimer's introduction is an innovation. In fact, Capart in his series explicitly forswears such a treatise because "ten years are scarcely necessary for a book on Egyptian archaeology to be out of date." His point of view has been justified by the rapidity with which Egyptological knowledge has progressed. However, he himself has just published a comprehensive treatise on Egyptian art, grouped by periods.<sup>4</sup>

Miss Fechheimer deals chronologically not with art as a unit but with architecture, sculpture in the round, and reliefs separately. A refreshingly new viewpoint often crops out. Before taking up these individual branches, she contrasts the elemental principles of art with the historical attitude which puts art periods out of focus by insisting on development. Her own feeling that there is no development of what is artistic, but only a succession of changing forms, leads her elsewhere to declare that the term "archaic bound" is improperly applied to Egyptian sculpture. Egyptian kinship with the modern Occident is recognized spiritually in the common belief in immortality, in hymns, prophetic writings, etc., and artistically in the geometrical treatment of form which reappears in modern cubist style.

Egyptian plastic art, like so many others since, arose out of religious needs. The types of architecture developed are analyzed as natural outgrowths of the Egyptian landscape. Sculpture, both in the round and in relief, is always organically associated with and must be considered in relation to an architectural setting. The *plasticity* of Greek sculpture and the *dematerialized stone* effect of Gothic are contrasted with Egyptian insistence on the *nature of stone*: its *massivity* and *impenetrability*. The customary use of *low* relief admirably suggests the latter; closely fitted joints and coatings of stucco to unify the surface emphasize both aspects. The impulse of Egyptian statuary came from form and mind at rest. Simple geometrical outlines were favored, of proportions good on any scale. Color and sometimes inlay were used to supplement modeling.

The limitations due to Egyptian conventions are recognized. But disregard of perspective is attributed rather not only to a preference for truth instead of appearances, as has been shown by Schäfer, but also to a rigorous conception

<sup>1</sup> A fourth edition has since appeared (1920), forming Vol. I of a new series, "Die Kunst des Ostens in Einzeldarstellungen." It adds twelve plates to the treatment of the Amarna period.

<sup>2</sup> *Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur*. Munich: Bruckmann, 1906-14.

<sup>3</sup> *L'art égyptien*. Brussels: Vromant & Co., 1909 and 1911. Plastic art is represented almost exclusively.

<sup>4</sup> *Leçons sur l'art égyptien*. Liège, 1920.



of plane surfaces. Egyptian relief does not seek to escape its background; it depends not on bulk but on silhouette. Bold summation of the flattest view of every part of the body gives an *equation* as it were of the spatial value of the figure. Flavored with these and similar keen interpretations, Miss Fechheimer's essay forms a valuable contribution to our literature on Egyptian art.

T. GEORGE ALLEN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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MORGENSTERN, J., *A Jewish Interpretation of the Book of Genesis*. Cincinnati: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1919. Pp. x+336.

This is an admirable example of a high-class textbook for use in the Bible school. The interpretation is based upon a thoroughly historical appreciation of the nature of the sources coupled with a genuinely religious understanding of their value for the present-day Jew. The method is (1) to give first in large type a summary of the lesson to be derived from each story and presented to the class, and (2) then to add supplementary notes for the teachers in which more or less difficult details of the text are elucidated. No effort is made to conceal anything. The exposition is frank and sound in every case. But the emphasis is rightly placed upon the religious and moral values inherent in the text. Christian interpreters for Sunday schools may learn much from such a book as this.

J. M. POWIS SMITH

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KÖNIG, EDWARD, *Hermeneutik des Alten Testaments mit spezieller Berücksichtigung der modernen Probleme*. Bonn: Marcus und Weber, 1916. Pp. viii+178. M. 8.40.

This is a useful and interesting summary of Dr. König's opinions regarding the interpretation of the Old Testament. It contains nothing new to those who are familiar with the author's many earlier works. Judgment is freely passed upon all schools of interpretation and upon the work of many individuals, and few escape unscathed. A very noticeable feature of the book is its practical failure to recognize works in English and French. The *International Critical Commentary*, for example, is not listed on page 26, where none but German works appear. G. B. Smith's *Guide to the Study of the Christian Religion* did not appear in time to be recognized. But the *Hermeneutik* is evidently intended primarily for German use, and no English books need apply for recognition. The breadth of Dr. König's learning and his well-known caution are both well illustrated in this work. It should be in every library concerned with biblical literature.

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LUTZ, HENRY FREDERICK, *Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts* (Vol. I, No. 2, of Publications of the Babylonian Section, University of Pennsylvania, the University Museum). Philadelphia: University Museum, 1919. Pp. 133 and CXLI plates.

The authorities of the University Museum are making a very commendable effort to complete the publication of the different classes of texts in their valuable collection. Even after all the incantation texts in the possession of the Museum were added to the ninety-five letters which complete the publication of the



Museum's epistolary literature, it was found necessary to add texts belonging to other categories to make a volume of standard size. This, says Dr. Lutz, explains "this medley of so widely different texts"—letters, incantations, Sumerian law codes, hymns, prayers, and school texts. Forty-four of the texts are translated by the author. The same criticism which the reviewer was compelled to pass upon other efforts of Dr. Lutz applies here, though in less degree. The English of the translations frequently fails to convey any definite meaning to the reader. "Fragment of a Semitic Code of Laws" hardly does justice to text No. 99. It has to do with incense offerings.

The texts are a valuable addition to the cuneiform literature, and the autograph copies are a delight to the eyes.

D. D. LUCKENBILL

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KEISER, CLARENCE ELWOOD, *Letters and Contracts from Erech Written in the neo-Babylonian Period* (Vol. I of Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies). New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918. Pp. 42 and LX plates.

GRICE, ETTALENE MEARS, *Chronology of the Larsa Dynasty*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919. Pp. 43.

KEISER, CLARENCE ELWOOD, *Patesis of the Ur Dynasty*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919. Pp. 34 and chart.

A hundred and seventy-seven texts, ninety-four of which are letters, belonging to the private collection of the Rev. Dr. Nies, of Brooklyn, N.Y., have been copied and published by Dr. Keiser, of the Yale Babylonian Seminary. They came from Erech and were written in the neo-Babylonian period. Complete name indexes have been added. Here are found two "Yale" deities, Enurta and Zababa. It is to be hoped that translations of the letters will follow.

In Vol. IV, Parts I and II of "Researches, Yale Oriental Series," we have two valuable studies by Drs. Grice and Keiser. In the first the date formulas of the Larsa dynasty have been tabulated; the second is a chronological list of the patesis of the Ur dynasty. The authors are to be congratulated upon their skilful performance of tedious but most important tasks.

D. D. LUCKENBILL

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HITTITE TREATIES AND LETTERS

By D. D. LUCKENBILL  
University of Chicago

The documents here translated form a small part of the archives of the Hittite kings found by Winckler at Boghazkeui in 1906. Winckler's preliminary report of his discovery, with translations of some sections of these treaties, appeared in *MDOG*, No. 35 (1907). It was hoped that the texts might be given out at an early date, but the long illness of the discoverer of the archives prevented it: all that Winckler published before his death (1913) was a discussion of the Harri-Aryan problem in *OLZ*, 1910, cols. 289 f. Here a few additional paragraphs from the texts were translated.<sup>1</sup> After the work of publication had been turned over to other hands, the war came on, and it was not until 1916, ten years after the discovery of the archives, that the first volume of the *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*<sup>2</sup> appeared. The copies were made by H. H. Figulla and E. F. Weidner. The published texts did not, of course, reach scholars outside of Germany until after the end of the war. A study of these texts by Weidner is planned for the "Boghazköi-Studien," but with the present uncertainty in Germany there is little hope of our seeing this work for some time to come.<sup>3</sup> A translation into English of these texts does not, therefore, seem out of place.

<sup>1</sup> Winckler's "Vorderasien im zweiten Jahrtausend," published in *MDVG* (1913), after his death, added nothing to our source material.

<sup>2</sup> Abbreviated hereafter *KBo*.

<sup>3</sup> Weidner's preliminary study, *MDOG*, No. 58 (1917), was not accessible until all of my translations had been made.



I am indebted to Meissner for many suggestions,<sup>1</sup> but I was not able to make use of Langdon and Gardiner's translation and discussion of the Ramses-Hattushili treaty until my translations were in type.<sup>2</sup> Nor have I seen Golla's dissertation on the treaty of the Hittite king with Shunashshura (No. 4, below).<sup>3</sup>

I do not deceive myself into thinking of the translations here offered as being final. After more than thirty years, the Amarna letters, which belong to the same category of texts as the ones here translated, still bristle with problems, both of philology and interpretation. The stilted translation English which will be found in almost every paragraph cannot be more offensive to any reader than it has been to me. But I have deemed it wiser to err in this direction and thereby preserve some of the flavor of the original together with its ambiguities and obscurities than to hide these latter under cover of a smooth translation. Translations depending on textual emendations or restorations have been bracketed. In the parentheses are found variant translations or such words as the difference in our idiom requires to bring out the sense of the original.

No. 1. Text *KBo. I*, Nos. 1 and 2.

Treaty between Shubbiluliuma of Hatti and Mattiuaza of Mitanni. The introduction recounts the differences which arose between Hatti and Mitanni because of the "presumptuousness" of Tushratta, the father of Mattiuaza, and also describes the disorder into which Mitanni fell on the death of that king. Mattiuaza is to be given a daughter of the Hittite king in marriage and is to be placed on the throne of Mitanni—as a vassal of the great king, of course. The document defines the conditions. Mattiuaza's relationship to Biashshi-ilim (Biashshili), another son-in-law(?) of the Hittite king, is also defined.

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXII (1918), 32 f.; *Sitzungsberichte der . . . Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin, 1917), 282 f.; and *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1918, cols. 18 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, VI (1920), 179 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Der Vertrag des Hattikönig's Murkil mit dem König Šunāššura von Kiquadna* (Breslau, 1920).



## OBVERSE

(1-16) When with the Sun,<sup>1</sup> Shubbiluliuma, the great king, the valiant, the king of Hatti, the beloved of Teshub,<sup>2</sup> Artatama, the king of Harri,<sup>3</sup> made a treaty (lit., between them they made a treaty), and thereafter, Tushratta, king of Mitanni, exalted himself<sup>4</sup> against [the great king], the king of Hatti, the valiant, (then I,) the great king, etc., exalted myself against Tushratta, the king of Mitanni, the lands on this side<sup>5</sup> of the river I plundered, and Mount Niblani I restored to my domain.

A second time Tushratta, the king, acted presumptuously<sup>6</sup> toward me. Thus he spoke: "Why dost thou plunder that side of the Euphrates, which belongs to Tushratta, the king? If thou dost plunder the lands on that side of the Euphrates, I also will plunder the lands on that side of the Euphrates. Tushratta, the king, is desirous of keeping this (region) intact; but if thou plunderest them (these lands), what am I to do for them? I shall cross over to this side<sup>7</sup> of the Euphrates, whether it is a lamb or a child(?)<sup>8</sup> that I hear."

(Whereupon I), the great king, the king of Hatti, displayed (my) might<sup>9</sup> before him. Now against the father of the king of Hatti, Ishuwa<sup>10</sup> had rebelled. The Hittites (or the troops of Hatti) entered Ishuwa. The people of Kurtalisha,<sup>11</sup> the people of Arawanna,

<sup>1</sup> The Hittite "emperors" are regularly referred to as the "Sun," a title of royalty with which the Amarna letters have made us familiar. The Assyrian kings, beginning with Tukulti-Ninib, also made occasional use of the title. Cf. *AJSL*, XXVIII, 164.

<sup>2</sup> The chief god of Hatti; written (*ilu*) *U* or (*ilu*) *IM*, in these texts, and identified by the Babylonians of later days with their storm-god Adad.

<sup>3</sup> The land, city, people, and king of the Harri are frequently mentioned in these texts. Winckler saw in them the Aryans.

<sup>4</sup> From *na'adu*, "to be high, glorious," or (trans.) "to raise, to praise." The Hittite scribes are in the habit of assigning rare or hitherto unknown meanings to common Babylonian words.

<sup>5</sup> "This" and "that" side of the Euphrates should refer to the west and east banks respectively. Considerable confusion is caused by making Tushratta, who lived east of the river, use the same designations for east and west as the Hittite king is made to use.

<sup>6</sup> "Made himself big."

<sup>7</sup> See above, n. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Translation doubtful. I have assumed that we have a badly written *NAM-TUR*.

<sup>9</sup> "Made myself big."

<sup>10</sup> Name of a land.

<sup>11</sup> Name of a city. In these documents the determinatives "land," "city," and the double determinative "land-city" seem to be used interchangeably. Except in cases where doubt might arise I have not indicated the determinatives.



Zaz[zi]sha, Kalamashu, Timna, Mount Haliwa, Mount Karna, the people of Durmitta, Alha, Hurma, Mount Harana, half of the land of Tegarama, the people of Teburzia, the people of Hazga, and the people of Armatana, against my father they rebelled. But (I), the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, the great king, etc., defeated them. At that time, the people who had escaped from my hand, these entered Ishuwa; and whatever peoples or lands there were that rebelled against my father, these as subjects(?) of Ishuwa in the midst of a hostile land were dwelling.

(17-24) Now (I), the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, etc., took measures against the presumptuousness of Tushratta, the king. The Euphrates I crossed; against Ishuwa I marched and Ishuwa in its totality I devastated. For the second time I brought them into servitude to me. The people and the lands who in the time of my father had gone over to Ishuwa, namely the people of Kurtalisha, the people of Arawanna, Zazzisha, Tegarama,<sup>1</sup> Timmina, Mount Haliwa, Mount Karna, the people of Durmitta, Alha, Hurma, Mount Harana, half of Tegarama, the people of Teburzia, the people of Hazga, the people of Armatana, these peoples and lands I conquered and restored them to Hatti. The lands which I seized I set free, their (former) place(s) they occupy. Indeed, all of those whom I set free returned to their peoples and occupied their (former) place(s) in Hatti.

(25-29, 6-10) Again (I), the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, etc., marched against Alshe.<sup>2</sup> The fortress of Kutmar I stormed, and gave (it) to Antaratli of Alshe as a present. The fortress of Shûta<sup>3</sup> I entered. The fortress of Shûta I took as my plunder. I brought (its booty) into Washshukkani. Of the fortress of Shûta, oxen, sheep, horses, their property as well as their booty, I brought back to Hatti. As for Tushratta, the king, he marched out against me, but he did not get into the fight.

(30-37, 11-19) I returned, crossed the Euphrates and overpowered Halpa<sup>4</sup> and Mukishhe. Takuwa, king of Nia, came to

<sup>1</sup> Also written *Tagarama* (cf. Hrozný, *Hethitische Keilschrifttexte aus Boghasköi*, 105); the *Tilgarimmu* of the later Assyrian texts.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the *Alai* of the Assyrian documents (cf. Toffteen, *AJSL*, XXIII, 333 f.).

<sup>3</sup> Variant Zûta.

<sup>4</sup> Variant Halba, the modern Aleppo.



Mukishhe (to enter into) covenant with me. Behind the back of Takuwa, Akit-Teshub, his brother, roused land and city of Nia<sup>1</sup> to hostility. And Akit-Teshub won over these Mariannu (lit., turned them to one). Hishmia,<sup>2</sup> Asiri, Zulkia, Habáhi, Parria,<sup>3</sup> and Niruwábi,<sup>4</sup> together with their chariots and their men, were brought into agreement with Akia, king of Arahti.<sup>5</sup> They seized Arahti and rebelled, saying: "Let us fight the great king, the king of Hatti." (I), the great king, the king of Hatti, overpowered them in Arahti and seized Akia, king of Arahti, Akit-Teshub, brother of Takuwa, all of their Marianni, together with their possessions and brought them to Hatti. Katna, together with their property and possessions, I brought to Hatti.

(38-47, 20-28) When I went against Nuhashshi,<sup>6</sup> I seized all of its lands. Sharrupshi<sup>7</sup> escaped to distant parts (perhaps, died). His mother, his brothers, and his sons I seized and brought to Hatti. Takibsharri, the servant of Sharrupshi, over Ukulzat as king I set. Then I marched to Abina. But I had no thought of attacking Kinza, when Shutatarra, with Aitakkama, his son, and his chariots marched out against me to give battle. I defeated him, and they fled (entered) to Abzuia. I besieged him (in) Abzuia.<sup>8</sup> Shutatarra, together with his son, his Marianni, his brothers, and their . . . . (I seized) and brought to Hatti. Against Abina I marched and Ariwana, king of Abina, Luambadura,<sup>9</sup> Akparu, and Artaia, his nobles, came out against me to give battle.<sup>10</sup> All of these, their land, together with their possessions, to Hatti I brought. Because of the presumptuousness of Tushratta,<sup>11</sup> the king, for one year I plundered all of these lands and brought them to Hatti. From Mount Niblani, from that side of the Euphrates, I restored them to my domain.

(48-58, 29-39) When his son "waxed strong"<sup>12</sup> with his servants, he slew his father Tushratta, the king. And when Tushratta, the king, died, Teshub gave a decision in favor of Artatama, and his son Artatama he spared (lit., caused the dead to live). But all

<sup>1</sup> Variant Ne-ia.

<sup>4</sup> Variant Ni-ru-u-a.

<sup>7</sup> Variant Sharrupshe.

<sup>2</sup> Variant Heshmia.

<sup>3</sup> Variant Arahati.

<sup>8</sup> Variant Abzu.

<sup>9</sup> Restored from No. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Variant Nuhashshe.

<sup>10</sup> Reading doubtful.

<sup>10</sup> No. 2 omits all but the last clause of this sentence.

<sup>11</sup> Variant Tusheratta.

<sup>12</sup> Variant *uq-gi-im-mi-iḫ*. I can do nothing with the text of No. 1.



of Mitanni went to ruin. The Assyrians and the Alsheans<sup>1</sup> divided it among themselves. Up to this time (I), the great king, etc., did not cross to the other side (of the Euphrates); neither *hâma* nor *huṣṣapa*<sup>2</sup> of Mitanni did I carry off.

Now when the great king, etc., heard of the misery of Mitanni, the king of Hatti, sent palace-servants (lit., sons of the palace), oxen, sheep, and horses. But the Harri people had become discontented and Shutatarra<sup>3</sup> with the Marianni tried to kill Mattiuaza, the prince. He escaped and before the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, etc., he came. The great king spoke thus: "Teshub has rendered a decision in his favor." Whereupon I took Mattiuaza, son of Tushratta, the king, into my hand, and placed him on the throne of his father. In order that Mitanni, that great country, might not go to ruin, because his<sup>4</sup> daughter had looked upon Mitanni with favor, I, the great king, the king of Hatti, took Mattiuaza, son of Tushratta, into my hand and gave him my daughter in marriage.<sup>5</sup>

(59-67) (And I commanded) that Mattiuaza, the king's son, should be king in Mitanni, and that the daughter of the king of Hatti should be queen over Mitanni. To thee, Mattiuaza, ten women are to be allowed. But no second wife is to be advanced over my daughter. Thou shalt not send a second wife into her presence (or, to be a rival of hers). No one shall . . . her house. Thou shalt not bring my daughter into the position (place) of a second wife. In Mitanni she shall [rule] as queen. The children of Mattiuaza and the children of my daughter, their children and their children's children, shall [rule] in Mitanni in future days. And in future days, the Mitannians shall plan no rebellion against Mattiuaza, the king's son, or my daughter, the king's daughter, [or against their sons] or sons' sons. Mattiuaza, the king's son, in days to come,

<sup>1</sup> Variant Alshal.

<sup>2</sup> *Ham(m)u*, a plant. *Huṣṣapa*, probably the same as *huṣṣabu*, some part of the date palm.

<sup>3</sup> Variant Shuttarna.

<sup>4</sup> The great king's daughter.

<sup>5</sup> Fragments of only two lines of the rest of the obverse of No. 2 are left, but it is evident from these that the following paragraphs were not the same as in No. 1. They run: ". . . king of Hatti to Mitanni . . . —a(?)—II my oldest daughter." Since Blashshili figures in the opening lines of what is left of the reverse, it is possible that the Hittite king had given his eldest daughter to this prince. He would then have been on practically the same footing with the Hittite king as was Mattiuaza.



[to my sons], he shall be a brother, he shall be an equal of theirs, and the sons of Mattiuaza, the king's son, or sons of mine, or grandsons of mine, . . . . to my grandsons, he shall be a brother, he shall be an equal. . . . .

(68-73) The Hittites and the Mitannians, in the days to come, with an evil eye [shall not look upon each other]. The Hittites shall do no evil to the Mitannians [and the Mitannians] shall do no evil to the Hittites. When the king of Hatti is at war with an enemy [of Hatti or an enemy of the king of Hatti], then the king of Mitanni [shall seek the well-being of the king of Hatti], and when an enemy of Mitanni, or an enemy of [the king of Mitanni appears], then the king of Hatti [shall seek] the well-being of the king of Mitanni.

(74) [The son] of Mattiuaza, (I), the great king, the king of Hatti. . . . (75) [Any treaty] which I, the great king, shall make . . . . (76) . . . . the land of Mitanni . . . .

## REVERSE

(3) If the land of . . . . (4) are dwelling . . . . (5) is not planning, then against this enemy . . . . (6) (if) rests, and the enemy who comes to you . . . . (7) according to (?) or, under this oath, we will not place . . . . (if an enemy) (8) of Hatti come to thee for help . . . .

(9-13) If a fugitive flee from Hatti, [and the king of Mitanni does(?) not seize him, does(?) not] return him; if a fugitive (flee) from Mitanni, and the king of Hatti does(?) not seize him, does(?) not return him, nor [invokes?] the law of Shamash of Arinna. . . . . The house of Mattiuaza, the king's son, in Hatti, he shall build. The fugitive . . . . for the city, Mattiuaza, the king's son, shall cause him to dwell. To Hatti . . . .

(14-21) (I), the great king, the king of Hatti, seized the lands of Mitanni. In the time of [Artatama, when I was?] a king's son, I did not seize them. In the time of Tushratta I seized them, and [crossed] the Euphrates and for my outpost I brought Mount Niblani inside my borders. All the fortresses of . . . . of Harmurik, Shibri, Mazuwati, Shurun, these fortresses as the stronghold of . . . . to [Biashshi-ilim?] my son I gave. All the fortresses of



Ashtati, on the other side of (the river from) Mitanni, . . . Ahuna and Tirga, these fortresses of Ashtati, when Biashshi-ilim, the king's son, with [Mattiuaza], crossed the Euphrates and entered Irrite; all of the fortresses on the other side, which Biashshi-ilim regained(?), these belong to Biashshi-ilim.

(22-27, 2-6) Now I, the great king, the king of Hatti, caused the dead Mitanni to live and restored it to its former estate. And thou shalt not diminish it, thou shalt not violate it. From your treaty thou shalt not depart and your — thou shalt not seek. Biashshi-ilim is a king's son and Mattiuaza is a king's son. Their border shall [be established] between them. If(?) a city of Biashshi-ilim, the king's son, sends a secret (message) to Mattiuaza, Mattiuaza shall render (send out) his decision, his . . . he shall seize and to Biashshi-ilim, his brother, he shall send (cause to be brought). As for Mattiuaza, since he is not sending *hibûti*<sup>1</sup> to a city of Biashshi-ilim, Biashshi-ilim and Mattiuaza, let them make a brotherly covenant with each other.

(28-34, 7-12) As to Biashshi-ilim, when Mattiuaza calls him for a conference<sup>2</sup> to Irrite or to Taita, Mattiuaza shall plan no treachery against Biashshi-ilim, his brother, nor shall he incite another to commit treachery against Biashshi-ilim. Furthermore, Biashshi-ilim shall not overthrow(?) any stronghold of Mattiuaza's nor plan treachery against him. He shall plan no treachery or evil whatever against Biashshi-ilim. If Mattiuaza calls Biashshi-ilim, his brother, to Karkamish for a conference,<sup>3</sup> Biashshi-ilim shall not plan any kind of treachery or evil against Mattiuaza. As to the strongholds of Mattiuaza which are situated on the bank of the Euphrates, these let him<sup>4</sup> hold; but any other city which is on the bank of the Euphrates he shall not seize.

(35-53, 13-29) A copy of this treaty (lit., tablet) was placed<sup>5</sup> before Shamash (goddess) of Arinna, for Shamash of Arinna grants

<sup>1</sup> *hi(ti)-bu-ti*, some official?

<sup>2</sup> *ana bi iiaîi*, "calls for a word."

<sup>3</sup> One expects Mattiuaza to be invited to Karkamish by Biashshi-ilim, not the other way round.

<sup>4</sup> *likellu*, possibly a plural.

<sup>5</sup> No. 2 has a different beginning to this section. It probably read "a copy be sent to — . . . before the sons of . . ."



kingship and queenship. And in Mitanni (another) was placed before Teshub, lord of Kurinni of Kapa.<sup>1</sup> Kinship,<sup>2</sup> yea, kinship let them proclaim before the king of Mitanni and before the Harri. And now, if anyone, before Teshub, lord of Kurinni of Kapa, shall change this tablet or put it into a secret place; if he break it, or if he alter the words of the writing of this treaty, may the gods of secrecy and the gods whom the one who has taken (lit., lord of) the oath by the lifting of the hand has [invoked],<sup>3</sup> may they stand, and may they give ear. For they are the witnesses. Shamash of Arinna, who grants kingship and queenship in Hatti, Shamash, lord of heaven, Teshub, lord of Hatti, Shêri, Ashhurra (of) Mount Nanni (and) Mount Hazzi, Teshub, lord of trade, Teshub lord of the camp, Teshub, lord of relief, Teshub of Betiarik, Teshub of Nirik, Teshub, lord of mounds, Teshub of Halab, Teshub of Lihzina, Teshub of Shamuha, Teshub of Hurma, Teshub of Sharishsha, Teshub of Shaganuwa, Teshub of Hishshashhapa, Teshub of Tahaia, Teshub of —biki, Teshub of Kizzulana, Teshub of Uda, the Lamassu<sup>4</sup> of Hatti, the Lamassu of Garahum, Zithariash, Karzish, Hapanta—,<sup>5</sup> the Lamassu of the plain, the Lamassu of the air, the Lamassu of the mountains(?), Liliwanish, Ea and Damkina, Telibinu of Tawinia, Telibinu of Durmitta, Telibinu of Hanhana, Isthara, *mullarihu*,<sup>6</sup> Ashgawaba, Nisaba, Sin, lord of the oath, Ishhara, lady of the oath, Hebe, lady of heaven, Hebe of Halpa, Hebe of Uda, Hebe of Kizzulani, Zamama, Zamama of Hatti, Zamama of Illaia, Zamama of Arzia, Iarrish, Zappanash, Hashmilish, Hantedashshuish of Hurma, Abara of Shamuha, Gadahha of An—, the queen of Kasha—, Mamma of Tahurpa, Hallara of Dunna, Gazbâe of Hubishna, Bilala of Landa, Niawannish of Landa, gods of the Lullahi, the gods of the Habiri (SA-GAZ);<sup>7</sup> the male gods, the female gods, all of them,

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of *Kurinni* I do not know. Kapa is the name of a city.

<sup>2</sup> *e-im-mu-ti*, for *emûti*, which evidently means the relationship of the father-in-law to the son-in-law.

<sup>3</sup> Variant has *iltasu*, "he invoked."

<sup>4</sup> Protecting deity.

<sup>5</sup> A number of the names which follow have been restored from No. 2. I have not thought it necessary to bracket all such restorations.

<sup>6</sup> "The brilliant" or "sublime."

<sup>7</sup> *ildni Lu-la-ḫi-i*, *ildni SA-GAZ*.



of Hatti, the male gods, the female gods of Kissuadni, the gods of the earth, the river-god, Namshara, Minki, Ammuki, Tuhushi, Ammiz-zadu, Alalu, Anu, Antum, Enlil, Ninlil, Nin-egal, the mountains, the rivers, the great sea, the Euphrates, heaven and earth, the winds, the clouds.

(54-69, 30-37) Teshub, lord of heaven and earth, Sin and Sham-ash, lords of heaven and earth, Teshub, lord of Kurinni of Kapa, Nergal (Gir) of Kurta, Teshub, lord of Uhushuman, Ea-sharri, lord of wisdom, Anu, Antum, Enlil and Ninlil, the gods Mitrashshil, the gods Uruwan-ashshil, the god Indar, the gods Nashatianna,<sup>1</sup> Ellaṯsha, Shamanmin-uhi, Teshub, lord of Washshukkani, Teshub, lord of all of Irrite, Partahi of Shuta, Nabarwa, Shuruhi, Ashur, the star, Shala, Nin-egal, Dam-kina, Ishhara, the mountains and the rivers, the gods of heaven and the gods of earth, by the words of this treaty may they stand, and may they give ear. For they are the witnesses. If thou Mattiu-aza, the king's son, and the Harri, dost not keep the words of this treaty, thou, Mattiuaza, and the Harri, together with your land, together with your wives, and together with your possessions, may the gods, the lords of the oath, destroy you, like a radish(?) from its stalk(?) may they drag you, as from a *bubuwaḥi*, having no —. And thou, Mattiuaza, together with the second wife whom thou shalt take, and the Harri, together with your wives, your sons, and together with your land, in that they have no seed, may these gods, who are the lords of the oath, give you poverty and want. And thou, Mattiuaza, may they overturn thy throne. And thee, Mattiuaza, together with thy land, may these gods by whom thou hast sworn, break thee like a reed. Thy name and thy seed by the second wife whom thou shalt take, from the earth may thy seed be destroyed. And thou, Mattiuaza, together with thy land, (like) a tablet laid aside, not sent, from the midst of the Harri, shall (thy) name perish. The land, may it be devastated and uprooted. The land of your country, truly it is a *ṣāḥu* which has been closed(?); it shall go under, it shall not survive. And thou, Mattiuaza, and the Harri, you are enemies of the thousand gods; may they overcome you.

If thou, Mattiuaza, the king's son, and the Harri, this treaty and oath dost keep, thee Mattiuaza, together with thy wife, the

<sup>1</sup> *ilānipl* *mi-it-ra-aḥ-ṣi-il*, *ilānipl* *u-ru-wa-na-aḥ-ṣi-il*, *ilu in-dar*, *ilānipl* *na-ṣa-ti-ia-an-na*.



daughter of the king of Hatti, his sons and his grandsons, the Harri, together with your wives, your sons, and your grandsons, may these gods keep you; and may Mitanni as of old, may it return to its (former) position (place), may it prosper, may it grow (become wider). And thee, Mattiuaza, thy sons and thy grandsons by the daughter of the king of Hatti, may they give thee (lit., him) the land(?) of Harri as an everlasting kingdom; may the throne [of thy father grow old], may Mitanni grow old.

*Lines 18 f. of the reverse of No. 2 follow:*

Shamash, lord of heaven, Teshub, lord of Hatti, . . . . Teshub, lord of relief, . . . . Teshub of Bittiarik, Teshub of . . . . (Teshub of) Shabuha, Teshub of . . . . Teshub of Sharishsha, Teshub of . . . [Teshub of] Gizzula[na], . . . . Teshub of Uta, the Lamassu of Hatti, . . . . the Lamassu of the plain, the Lamassu of . . . . Liluwanish, Ea and Dam[kina] . . . . Ashur, us— . . . . (the star)Dilbat, Ashkawabash, Nisaba . . . . Hebe of Gizzulani, Za[mama] of . . . . Zappanash, Hashmilish, . . . . Mamma, Tahrma, . . . . the gods and the brothers(!)<sup>1</sup> of the gods of the Habiri (SA-GAZ), . . . . Ninkigal, the river-god (Narra), Namsharra, . . . . Ninib, Nin-egallim, the mountains and rivers . . . .

Teshub, lord of heaven and earth, Sin and Shamash, Sin of Har[rani] . . . . Ea-sharri, lord of wisdom, Anu, Antum, Enlil, Ni[nlil] . . . . Ellat, Samanminuhe, Teshub, lord of Uashshukani, . . . . Shuruhe, Ishtar, (the star)Dilbat, Shala, Nin-egal, Nin[ib] . . . .

No. 2. Text *KBo.* I, No. 3.

Mattiuaza's version of the treaty entered into with the king of Hatti, as given above. Here we have additional details of the struggle between Shuttarna, son of Artatama, and Mattiuaza, son of Tushratta, for the kingship of Mitanni.

#### OBVERSE

(1-9) [When(?)] (I), Mattiuaza, son of Tushratta, king of Mitanni, handed over<sup>2</sup> to Shuttarna, son of Artatama, [king of Harri, the

<sup>1</sup> Evidently a scribal error for Lullahi.

<sup>2</sup> Whether Mattiuaza's withdrawal in favor of Shuttarna was voluntary or otherwise is not indicated.



rulership] of Mitanni, Artatama, the king, his father, did what was not right. His palace (?) . . . together with his possessions, he wasted;<sup>1</sup> to give them to Assyria and Alshe, he wasted them. Tushratta, the king, my father, built a palace, filled (it) with treasures, but Shutarna destroyed it, he overthrew it. The . . . of the king, headbands of silver and of gold, vessels of silver from the "house of vessels," he smashed, and to none of the . . . of his father and his brother did he give anything. But toward the Assyrian, the servant of his father, who was bringing (lit., giving) the royal tribute to him, he became friendly<sup>2</sup> and his treasures he gave him as a gift.

(8-20) Thus (I), Mattiuaza, son of Tushratta: The doors of silver and gold which Saushshatar, the king, the father of my grandfather, had taken from Assyria by his might and power, and had set them up in his palace in Washshukkani, and then Shutarna in his meanness gave them back to Assyria. All sorts of precious vessels of silver and gold he gave to Alshe. And the palace of the king of Mitanni, together with its wealth and treasure, he ruined (wasted), into the dust he brought it (lit., with the dust he mixed it). The palace he destroyed, and the houses of the Harri he ruined. He caused the nobles to be taken to Assyria and Alshe, he carried them off. They came back and in Taite they crucified them;<sup>3</sup> he ruined all of them. The Harri and Akit-Teshup then fled from before him, into Karaduniash they entered. With two hundred chariots he fled. But the king of Karaduniash took for himself the two hundred chariots and their belongings, all that Akit-Teshub had brought along. And Akit-Teshub and his Marianni (*plural*) he persecuted and tried to kill him (Akit-Teshub). Against me, Mattiuaza, son of Tushratta, the king, he fought, but I tore myself out of his hand. Through (?) the gods of the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, etc., I escaped, by a road which was not — they pursued us. The gods of the king of Hatti and the gods of the king of Mitanni helped (lit., caused) us to come before the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, etc.

(21-30) In my — I cast myself at the feet of the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, etc., and he took me into his hand, he rejoiced over me. Every

<sup>1</sup> "Went through with."

<sup>2</sup> "Warmed up to the Assyrians." If one may be permitted to use this colloquialism.

<sup>3</sup> *ana iḡēpl izzagabušunuti.*



customary privilege<sup>1</sup> of Mitanni he bestowed on me. The — of Mitanni I heard(?). The great king, the valiant, spoke thus: If Shuttarna or the people of Mitanni come, I will not turn you over (to them). I will make you a child of mine. At my head(?) thou shalt stand, on the throne of thy father I will place thee. And the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, etc., the gods know him; the words which go forth from his mouth do not return to him.<sup>2</sup> Thus I, Mattiuaza, son of Tushratta: The words of the king, my lord, I have heard and I rejoice. And I, Mattiuaza, the king's son, to the great king, my lord, speak thus: If my lord grants me life, and the gods stand at my head, and the great king, the king of Hatti, etc., does not oppose Artatama on the throne of royalty, then I will stand under his leadership, and let Mitanni accept Shuttarna. But he made the lands "not good" while I did no evil to anyone.

(31-40) When I, Mattiuaza, came before the great king, (I had) three chariots, two Harri, two "goers-after" who go forth with him,<sup>3</sup> one garment for my front,<sup>4</sup> but no food whatever, and the great king had mercy on me and chariots, wrought with gold, horses, chariots, with a covering<sup>5</sup> of —, *ZA-LAM-GAR*<sup>6</sup> of —, "goers-after" of *bitga*, two *zati* of [silver] and gold, together with their *gasi* which were of silver and gold, implements [and?] vessels of silver, four —<sup>7</sup> of silver, — garments, all of them made of wool, and rings of all kinds . . . were given to me. With Biashshilim, [the king's son], he received me,<sup>8</sup> and the king entrusted me to the hand of Biashshilim (to be) over his chariots and his people. On our reaching Karkamish we sent a messenger to the people of Irrite: Shuttarna alienated(?) the Harri with the riches of Tushratta and made them of one mind. To Irrite we sent word to them, and these Harri sent a reply to Biashshilim: "Why dost thou come? If thou comest to fight, come on: to . . . thou shalt not." When

<sup>1</sup> *parqu*, cf. No. 14, Rev. (1-10).

<sup>2</sup> *ana kutallišu ul idr*.

<sup>3</sup> That is, "with the great king."

<sup>4</sup> Or, "which I had on."

<sup>5</sup> *sariam*. In the Amarna letters the *sariam* is usually of leather.

<sup>6</sup> Some wooden object.

<sup>7</sup> Text has "four men of Meluhha," Ethiopians.

<sup>8</sup> *uttehīranni*.



we heard the words of the people of Irrite, Biashshilim, the king's son, and Mattiuaza, the king's son, crossed the Euphrates, to give battle forthwith we marched against Irrite.

(41-47) And the gods of the great king, the king of Hatti, went before [us]. And Shuttarna sent to(?) the Harri to Irrite to guard the —. The chariots and men of the fortress of Irrite gathered together, they waited for us. On our approaching Irrite, the men and chariot(s) which were in the city, he encouraged (strengthened) against us; every . . . with our hands we seized, and . . . we destroyed. When the people (lit., sons) of Irrite . . . they sent to make peace. In Irrite and the fortress of Irrite, all of them . . . to us . . . (the people) of Harrana and . . . rani, gathered together and came to us. . . . in . . . we put them.

(48-55) . . . he sent him. One Mariannu, to go before them, he (I?) gave . . . Washshukkani, to make peace they do not allow (favor). When the chariots . . . Mattiuaza, the king's son and Biashshilim, the king's son, in Irrite . . . the Assyrian . . . his . . . and his chariots against the chariots . . . a messenger to us . . . chariots and men . . . into Washshukkani we brought him . . . men and chariots. . . .

#### REVERSE

(1-7) . . . [lord of] Hatti . . . lord of the bow . . . Hanti-[dashshuish of Hurma]<sup>1</sup> . . . tapa, Mam[ma of Tahurpa] . . . [Hallara of] Dunna, Gaz[bâe of Hubishna] . . . [Niawan]nish . . . gods of Nulah[hi . . . gods of the Habiri (SA-GAZ), the male gods [and the female gods, all] of [them of Kissua]dni, Damkina, . . . the river-god . . . [Tuhu]shi, Amizz[adu, A]lalu, Anu, [Antum, Enlil], Nin-lil, Nin-egal, [the mountains, the rivers, the great sea, the Euphrates, heaven] and earth, the winds and the clouds.

(8-17) Of the words of this treaty [the gods of . . .] are the witnesses. If thou, Mattiuaza, and the sons of [Harri, dost not keep] the words of this treaty, thou and the Harri, together with your land, together with your wives, together with your [possessions] and together with your treasures, may these gods of the oath destroy you . . . [like a radish(?) with its stalk(?) may they drag you away; as from

<sup>1</sup> Restorations after Nos. 1 and 2.



*bubuwaḥḥi*, having no ——. <sup>1</sup> If thou, Mattiuaza, dost take [a second wife], then to thee, Mattiuaza, together with the [second] wife whom thou shalt take, and the Harri, together with their wives, their sons, [in that they have no seed], may these gods, who are lords of the oath, give you poverty and want. As for thee, Mattiuaza, may they overturn [thy throne]. And thee, Mattiuaza, together with your land, may these gods by whom thou has sworn, break like a reed. Thy name and thy seed by the second wife whom thou shalt take, from the earth may thy (*text has*, his) seed be destroyed. And thou Mattiuaza, together with thy land, (like) a tablet laid aside, not sent, from the midst of the Harri shall thy name perish. The land, may it be devastated and uprooted. The land of your country, truly it is a *ṣāḥu* which has been closed(?); it shall go under, it shall not survive. And thou, Mattiuaza, and the sons of the Harri, you are enemies of the thousand gods; may they overcome you.

(18-22) If thou, Mattiuaza and the sons of Harri, this treaty and oath dost keep, thee, Mattiuaza, together with the daughter of the great king, the king of Hatti, his son, and his grandson, the Harri, together with your wives, your sons, and together with your land, may these gods keep you, and may Mitanni as of old return to its (former) position (place), may it prosper, may it grow (become wider). And to thee, Mattiuaza, the sons and the grandsons of the daughter of the great king, the king of Hatti, may they give you the mountain(?) of Mitanni as an everlasting kingdom; may the throne of thy father grow old, may the land of Mitanni grow old.

(23-45) Teshub of heaven and earth, Sin and Shamash, Sin of Harrani, (of) heaven and earth, Teshub, lord of Kurinni of Kapa, Teshub, lord of Uhushmani, Ea, lord of wisdom, Nergal, Kurta, Anu and Antum, Enlil and Ninlil, the gods Mitrashshil, the gods Arunashshil, the god Indara, the gods Nashatianna, Ellat, Shamanminuhe, Teshub, lord of Washshukkani, Teshub, lord of the city Kamaribi,<sup>2</sup> of Irrite, Naparbi, Shuruhi, Ishtar, god(dess) and star, Shala, Nin-egal, Nin-aiakki,<sup>3</sup> Ishhara, Pardāhi of Shûda, the mountains and the rivers and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. No. 1. "Having" seems to be without any object in this text. In No. 1 what may be the object is rubbed.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. No. 1.

<sup>3</sup> No. 1 has *Damkina*.



the wells, the gods of heaven and earth: If I, Mattiuaza, the king's son, and the sons of Harri, (if) we do not keep this treaty and oath, may I, Mattiuaza, together with the second wife whom I may take, and we, the sons of Harri, together with our wives, together with our sons, and together with our land, like the *ushu* tree, which has no shoots when it is cut off, may I, Mattiuaza, together with the second wife whom I may take, and we, the sons of Harri, together with our lands, and together with our wives, and together with our sons, like this *ushu* tree may we have no seed (offspring). As water of the cistern does not return to its place, so may we, like the water of the cistern, not return to our place. I, Mattiuaza, together with the second wife whom I may take, and we, the sons of Harri, together with our possessions, like smoke to heaven, may we go. Like syrup,<sup>1</sup> which has no seed, so may I, Mattiuaza, together with the second wife whom I may take, and (we) the sons of Harri, together with our lands and our wives and our sons, like the syrup have no seed; like the sip of syrup, may we not return to our place. I, Mattiuaza, if I take a second wife, may my throne be overturned. If we do not keep this treaty and oath, may the gods, the lords of the oath, destroy you. Thus Mattiuaza, the king's son, thus also the sons of Harri (shall say): "If we keep this treaty and oath with the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, etc., may the gods whose names we have called upon, go with us, increase our numbers (widen us), guard us, strengthen us. As lord, may Mattiuaza, go on ahead; under his protection may we enjoy abundant harvests; favor and honor may we see."

May Teshub, first of heaven and earth, forever be our ally. May Mattiuaza, and we, the Harri, forever enjoy health and peace of soul. As the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, etc., as he loves his table, his lands, his people, his sons, and his grandsons, so may he love, like these, me, Mattiuaza, together with my wife, the daughter of the great king, the king of Hatti, and us, the sons of Harri, the land of Mitanni, together with our lands, together with our possessions.

(46) Tablet No. 1 of his treaty and his oath, by the hand of Kiliandi.

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<sup>1</sup> Or "salt."



No. 3. Text *KBo.* I, No. 4.

Treaty drawn up between Shubbiluliuma and Teitte of Nuhashshi, a city-state in northern Syria, near Aleppo, after the great king had driven out the king of Mitanni and his army.<sup>1</sup>

OBVERSE

(Col. I, 1-11) Thus, the Sun, Shubbiluliuma, the great king, the king of Hatti, the valiant: When the king of Mitanni sought to kill Sharrupsha, and the king of Mitanni, together with his picked<sup>2</sup> troops and his chariots entered Nuhashshi; when he pressed him hard, then Sharrupsha sent his messenger to (me), the king of Hatti: "The servant of the king of Hatti am I, save me." And (I), the Sun, sent men and horses to rescue him, and the king of Mitanni, together with his picked troops and his chariots they drove away from Nuhashshi.

(12-22) In this matter I did not become angry(?), but went to Sharrupsha, to rescue him. And when . . . . in those days, with the king of Hatti, . . . . the king of Hatti to (against?) Ishuwa. . . . . When he devastated Ishuwa and against . . . . of Sharrupsha in Mitanni . . . . when I (he?) reached, of Mount Kashia[ra] . . . . king of Alshe . . . . Kashiara . . . . when . . . . I devastated(?).

(23-33, *only ends of lines left*) . . . . my words . . . . made war . . . . before him, . . . . he heard and . . . . this . . . . one . . . . the city . . . . with them . . . .

(Col. II, 1-5) In one year let the merchants of Hatti surely [bring] his *argamanna* (purple?) and with weights (stones) weigh (it). Teitte before the Sun, his lord, to Hatti shall come in his time (year).

(6-20) And with my friend he shall be at peace, with my enemy he shall be at enmity. If the king of Hatti, into Harri, or into Egypt, or into Karaduniash, or into Astata or into . . . . any lands of the enemy which are near the border of thy land, which are at war with the king of Hatti; or any lands which are near the border of thy land, which are at peace with the king of Hatti, (if) they besiege

<sup>1</sup> This Teitte, or Tette, is mentioned in the "Hittite" texts from Boghazkeul, cf. Brozny, *Hethitische Keilschrifttexte*, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> *qábé huratišu*, cf. glossary to *Amarna Letters*.



Mukish,<sup>1</sup> or Halpa, or Kinza, make war on the king of Hatti, when the king of Hatti goes forth to plunder (these), if Teitte in his heart (that is, loyally) does not guard his troops and his chariots, or if in the evil of his heart he does not follow them(?); or whether it is a prince or a great lord (who comes out) with his men and his chariots (21-32) and calls on(?) Teitte for his troops to go to plunder another land, if Teitte, in the evil of his heart does not guard his men and his chariots and does not fight with the enemy, or if he does any hostile act (act of treachery), saying: "What of the oath and the treaty? If the enemy kills him or if the enemy kills thee, surely he will not know about it." And if against this enemy (he goes) thou shalt surely not write(?): "Behold the troops of Hatti are marching out to plunder, indeed he has surrounded the stronghold(?), and has departed from the oath."

*(Seven lines uninscribed)*

(40-47) . . . . second . . . . if the people(?) of Harri . . . . of Astata<sup>2</sup> . . . . of(?) Lubka<sup>2</sup> . . . . enter . . . . the king of Hatti . . . . [from his oath he has departed.

(48-56) . . . . (against) the king another enemy comes out . . . . and plunders Hatti, if with the king of Hatti . . . . Teitte shall hear it . . . . his men, his chariots to the forces of(?) the noble . . . . he goes forth, and if thou, Teitte, . . . . do not follow(?); whet he it be his son, or his brother, or a Mariannu, to men, chariots, and to the forces of the king of Hatti, may he come in haste.

#### REVERSE

(Col. III, 1-10) To . . . . anything they destroy . . . . and to the king of Hatti, goods . . . . place, and the king . . . . and if a — [or if a —] or if a king's son or if a great lord, when . . . . he sends, and that enemy and . . . . Teitte, to . . . . him(?) and because of his carelessness, if . . . . shall return to him. After . . . . men, chariots. . . .

(11-20) And . . . . and against his fortress, the king of [Hatti] —s them. The treasure . . . . he enters . . . . What of the treaty? . . . . surely does not . . . . in his heart . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Scribal error for *Mukishhe*.

<sup>2</sup> Names of lands.



(21-24) If to Teitte . . . . he shall seize . . . . and Teitte . . . . the woman will not send to him . . . .

(25-32 Any son of Nuhashshi . . . . who in Hatti dwells . . . . whether it be a servant, a woman, a female slave . . . . Teitte to the king of Hatti . . . . return them, he shall give to him, he shall take [them] . . . . any . . . . he shall not give him . . . . his servant to Teitte . . . . Hatti shall steal . . . . he shall go.

(33-53) And if . . . .

(54-57) . . . . Nuhashshi . . . . any . . . . he shall take, any noble . . . . he shall not take.

(57-59) . . . . Teitte, his bow, dead . . . . his . . . . we(?) will send to him.

(Col. IV. 1-10) . . . . —*hatu* . . . . [Mount] Hazzi . . . . [Teshub of A]bina, Teshub of . . . . [Teshub of Be]tiarik, Teshub of N[ir]ik . . . . Teshub of Sharish[sha] . . . . [Teshub of Ki]ssuti, Teshub of Uda, Teshub of . . . . Ishhubitta, Teshub of Nuhashshi . . . .

(11-16) . . . . the Lamassu of Hatti, Zithari[ash] . . . . Daliash, the Lamassu of Karah— . . . Ea, Alla— . . . . Durmitta, Telibinu of [Tawin]ja, [Tel]ibinu of Hanahana. . . .

(17-21) . . . . lord of the oath, Ishhara, queen of the oath, Hebe, . . . . Ishtar, Belit, Ishtar of Ninuwa, Ishtar of Hattarrina, Ninadda, Kulitta, Zamama, Zamama of Hatti, Zamama of Ellaia, Zamama of Arzia, Iarri, Zappana.

(22-35) Hantitashshu of Hurma, Aparu of Shamuha, Kadahha of Anshuwa, Sharrat of Gatapa, LUGAL-SAL-NUN-ME (=Mamma) of Tahirpa, Hallara of Dunna, Gazbâ of Hubishna, Tabishuwa of Ishhubitta, Beldi of Lanta, Niawannish of Lanta, Nin-PISAN-PISAN-na of Kinza, Mount Lablani, Mount Shariana, Mount Bishaisha, the gods of the Lulahhi, the gods of the Habiri, Nin-kigal, the male gods, the female gods, all of them, of Hatti, the male gods, the female gods, all of them, of Kissuwadni, the male gods, the female gods, all of them, of Nuhashshi, the gods of eternity, all of them, the river-god, Namtara, Minki, Tûhushi, Ammuki, Ammizatum, Alalu, Antum, Anu, Apantum, Enlil, Ninlil,



(36-49) the mountains, rivers, wells, the great sea, heaven and earth, the winds, all of them, to this treaty and oath, truly they are the witnesses. All the words of this treaty and oath, which are written in this tablet, if Teitte does not keep the words of this treaty and oath and from this oath departs, may the gods of this oath (lit., the oath by these gods) destroy Teitte, [his brother], his wives, his sons, his grandsons, his house, his city, his land, his . . . together with all that he has. But if Teitte keep the words of this treaty and oath which are written in this tablet, then may Teitte . . . from his head, his wives, . . . his . . . his . . . his land(?) . . .

(50-51) This tablet . . . according to . . .

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No. 4. Text *KBo.* I, No. 5.

Copy of the treaty between Murshili, son of Shubbiluliuma, and Shunashshura of Kissuwadni.<sup>1</sup>

OBVERSE

(Col. I, 1-4) Thus [Murshili, the great king, etc.]: When with . . . between them . . . this treaty between them they drew up.

(5-7) Formerly in the time of my father's father, Kissuwadni was part of Hatti, and later Kissuwadni broke away from Hatti and went over to Harri.

(8-13) When, in Ishuwa, [the servants] of the Sun plotted evil against the Sun, the Sun went to seize them. Ishuwa was willing (to have) him (do so) but . . . fled before the Sun and reached Harri. The Sun sent to the Harri saying: "Return my servants." And the Harri afterward sent (a message) to the Sun (as follows):

(14-19) "These fortresses (that is, the people of these fortresses) formerly came to my grandfather, to Harri, and dwelt there, and then, afterward, they went to Hatti as fugitives. And, thereupon, oxen and the stables of their oxen were assigned them, so they have come to my land."

(20-24) The Harri<sup>2</sup> did not return my servants to the Sun. His men and his horses he sent and they plundered Ishuwa behind

<sup>1</sup> I have not seen Golla's dissertation on this text. Cf. p. 162, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Sing.*, "man of Harri."



the back of the Sun. All kinds of plunder, oxen, sheep, they captured, and took them back to Harri. The Sun was stationed (lit., dwelt) in another place, making war against an enemy.

(25-29) The Harri violated the oath by the gods. The Sun sent this (message) to the Harri: "If this reaches you: Is any land separating itself from you, and going over to Hatti?" After this word, the Harri sent this to the Sun: "'Tis surely a revolt."

(30-33) Now Kissuwadni, belonging to Hatti, oxen and the stables of their oxen were assigned them. From Harri they broke away, to the Sun they went over. The Harri sinned against Hatti and against Kissuwadni greatly he sinned.

(34-37) Kissuwadni followed him (the Harri?) exceedingly much in his separation (from Hatti). Now Hatti and Kissuwadni from the oath of the gods are surely freed. Now the Sun has restored Kissuwadni to freedom.

(38-44) The Harri (the people) call Shunashshura a slave; but now the Sun makes him a legitimate king. Shunashshura shall come before the Sun, the face of the Sun shall he see. When he comes before the Sun, none of the nobles of the Sun shall remain seated on the couch(?)<sup>1</sup> before him. Afterward, he shall return to Kissuwadni.

(45-48) Whenever the Sun says to him: "Come before me." If he is not willing to come, whatever son of his the king commands, this one shall come before the Sun, but to the Sun he need surely give no *argamanna* (purple?).

(49-54) The Sun, the great king, shall not oppose Shunashshura, shall not make war against him. As the Sun guards his own head and his land, so may he also guard the head and land of Shunashshura. Any heir of his, whom Shunashshura shall mention to the Sun for the kingship, that one the Sun shall guard (approve of) for the kingship.

(55-59) Shunashshura shall not oppose the great king, nor shall he make war against him. As Shunashshura guards his land and his head, so may he also guard the head and land of the Sun. Any heir of his whom the Sun shall mention to Shunashshura for the kingship, that one Shunashshura shall guard for the kingship.

<sup>1</sup> *igu MAS*, glossed *A*, which has the value *maialu*.



(60-64) If the Sun opposes anyone . . . . the Sun, may he attain to the desire of his heart . . . . also that one. If . . . . the Sun, his enemy . . . . him.

(65-71) (*Only a few signs of ends of lines left*) . . . . He shall give to him . . . . kingship.

(Col. II, 1) Shunashshura, when (if) he wishes, with . . . .

(2-6) If any . . . . approach the head of Shunashshura, Shunashshura [shall act according to] the desire [of his heart]. If a foe [enter] Kissuwadni, if he seize a city and shut it up, as he is the enemy of Shunashshura, so shall he also be (an enemy) of the Sun.

(7-10) If the people of Kissuwadni seize that enemy, they shall kill him. If they give him over to the Sun, he shall kill him. The Sun is truly at peace with the people of Kissuwadni.

(11-15) [If an enemy of] Shunashshura desires it of the Sun, and(?) he cause him to take his seat on the throne, if the people of Kissuwadni do not slay that enemy, do not give him over to the Sun, he does not kill him, the [Sun . . . .] is able, then with Kissuwadni he is at war.

(16-18) If anyone, whether man or city, make a revolt against the Sun, or make war upon him, Shunashshura as soon as he hears of it, shall report it to the Sun.

(19-21) If anyone, whether [man or city], make a revolt against Shunashshura, [or make war on him], the Sun, as soon as hears of it, shall report it to Shunashshura.

(22-23) If another land starts any hostility against the Sun, when Shunashshura hears of it, he shall report it to the Sun.

(24-25) If another land starts any hostility against Shunashshura, when the Sun hears of it, he shall report it to Shunashshura.

(26-28) If any city starts hostility in the land of the Sun, as this one is the enemy of the Sun, so also shall it be the enemy of Shunashshura, together they shall make war (against it).

(29-30) The property of the city, which as booty the men of Shunashshura shall capture, shall seize, no one shall receive (any of it) from them (lit., him).



(31-33) The property of the city, which as booty the men of the Sun shall capture, shall seize, no one shall receive (any of it) from them (lit., him). The city is ground (lit., dust) of the Sun.

(34-36) And if any city starts hostility in the land of Shunashshura, as this one is the enemy of Shunashshura, so also shall it be the enemy of the Sun, together they shall make war (against it).

(37-38) The property of the city, which as booty the men of Shunashshura shall capture, shall seize, no one shall receive (any of it) from them (lit., him).

(39-41) And the property of the city, which as booty the men of the Sun shall capture, shall seize, no one shall receive (any of it) from them (lit., him). The city is ground (dust) of Shunashshura.

(42-45) If any land starts hostility against the Sun, and the land at the time is under oath of the gods to Shunashshura, and the Sun asks Shunashshura for "mustered troops," he shall give him the "mustered troops."

(46-48) If Shunashshura gives the troops, says: "Against the enemy take them." He shall take them. If he does not say so, they shall remain in his land to guard it.

(49-50) If he takes the troops against the enemy, the troops of the Sun, the spoil, the booty, which they shall capture, it is theirs, they shall take it. The troops of Shunashshura, the spoil, the booty, which they shall capture, it is theirs, they shall take it.

(51-55) If any land starts hostility against Shunashshura, and the land at the time is under oath of the gods to the Sun, and Shunashshura asks the Sun for "mustered troops," the Sun shall give him the "mustered troops."

(56-58) And if the Sun gives the troops, says: "Against the enemy take them." He shall take them. If he does not say this, they shall remain in his land to guard it.

(59-62) If he takes the troops against the enemy, the troops of Shunashshura, the spoil, the booty which they shall capture, it is theirs, they shall take it. The troops of the Sun, the spoil, the booty, which they shall capture, it is theirs, they shall take it.



(63-69) If there arise serious (great) hostility against the Sun, and the enemy enter into his land in his assaults; if into the land of Shunashshura (the call?) comes: "Shunashshura together with thy picked troops to my rescue come." If before thee any such word comes, before thy picked troops, send thy son, to my rescue come.

## REVERSE

(Col. III, 1-6) If there arise serious hostility against Shunashshura, if the enemy in his assaults come into his land; if into the land of the Sun (the call?) comes, I, the Sun, will come with<sup>1</sup> my picked troops to thy rescue. If before the Sun any such word comes, before my picked troops, I will send help.

(7-10) Anyone starting hostility with the Sun, he is surely an enemy of Shunashshura. Shunashshura (shall say): "My assembled troops are at the disposal of the Sun. With him let us indeed make war."

(11-13) And anyone starting war with Shunashshura, he is surely an enemy of the Sun. The Sun (shall say): "My assembled troops [are at thy disposal].<sup>2</sup> With him let us indeed make war.

(14-15) [If] anyone instigates a rebellion against the Sun, I, Shunashshura will hunt him down.

(16-17) And [if] anyone instigates a rebellion against Shunashshura, thou, the Sun, shalt surely hunt him down.

(18-19) The land of Hatti, in the days to come, shall surely not instigate any rebellion or evil against Kissuwadni.

(20-21) And Kissuwadni, in the days to come, shall surely not instigate any rebellion or evil against Hatti.

(22-24) If any man of Hatti shall hear of a matter concerning Shunashshura from the mouth of an enemy, he shall report it to Shunashshura.

(25-27) And if any man of Kissuwadni shall hear of a matter concerning the Sun from the mouth of an enemy, he shall report it to the Sun.

<sup>1</sup> Text has "from."

<sup>2</sup> Omitted by scribe.



(28-30) If the Sun sends his messenger to Shunashshura, Shunashshura shall do nothing wicked, he shall not ensnare him in any magic (magical plant).

(31-34) If Shunashshura (sends) either his son or his messenger into the presence of the Sun, or if Shunashshura goes himself, the Sun shall do nothing wicked to them, he shall not ensnare them in any magic.

(35-36) Hatti and Kissuwadni, an exceedingly strong alliance let them make between them.

(37-39) Again: If any stronghold of Harri "overflows" against a stronghold of Shunashshura, in any city of Harri we will make war together against it.<sup>1</sup>

(40-44) And whatever booty the troops of the Sun capture, the troops of the Sun shall take. And whatever booty the troops of Shunashshura shall capture, the troops of Shunashshura shall take. The ground of that city the Sun shall give to Shunashshura, the Sun shall surely increase (widen) his land.

(45-49) And of any stronghold of Harri that we smite, whatever I, the Sun, desire, I, the Sun, shall take. And whatever he desires to Shunashshura I will give. The land of Kissuwadni, in the days to come, shall never turn back to Harri.

(50-55) Again: If the Harri shall hear (it said): "Did not Shunashshura break away from the king of Harri and go over to the Sun?" If the king of Harri attempts any [evil?] because of Shunashshura, [I, the Sun], because of Shunashshura, will not accept any greetings (peace gifts) from the king of Harri.

(56-59) [And if] the king of Harri, shall cease from persecuting Shunashshura, [the king of] Harri shall say: "The land of Kissuwadni is indeed the land of the Sun, and I, moreover, shall not do any violence to the land of Kissuwadni."

(60-63) [And when] the king of Harri is thus placed under oath by the gods, and I, the Sun, make peace with the king of Harri, and if the king of Harri does not cease persecuting Shunashshura, his greetings (gifts) I will not accept.

<sup>1</sup> We will make war together against any city of Harri in which this occurs.



(Col. IV, 1-4) . . . . Shunashshura . . . . together let us make war . . . .

(5-10) Anyone of the land of Harri, whether merchant or (trades)man,<sup>1</sup> of the city of Urushshā, who has been given over into the hand of Shunashshura, hereafter to the king of Harri, I will never give. And hereafter, if the king of Harri seeks anything of them through a "good" claim, I, the Sun, will not permit it. The king of Harri is to be placed under oath by the gods.

(11-13) If against (me), the Sun, my enemy (comes), he shall be my enemy; if he comes against (thee), Shunashshura, he shall be thy enemy; and (if) this enemy undertakes war against us

(14-18) and (thou), Shunashshura, shalt say: "Thy troops of Hatti, may they come to my rescue, and may fear of thee be established in my land." Then, I, the Sun, will give thee troops and horses in sufficient (numbers). Shunashshura shall give me troops and horses, as many as are (needed).

(19-24) Further: If (I), the Sun, go into another country to make war, be it into Harri, be it into Arzauwa, Shunashshura shall furnish one hundred horsemen and one thousand foot soldiers for the camp. With the Sun he shall march. Their rations (food for the road) which they receive up to the time they reach the Sun, the Sun shall give them.

(25-31) Further: The tablet of the oath by the gods, which he (?) has made, we will surely destroy it: the word of the Harri, we will put it into the water(?).<sup>2</sup> In addition, Shunashshura shall not be [the subject] of the Harri. We will make a second tablet. Nor shall Shunashshura send his messenger to the king of Harri. And a messenger of the land of Harri shall not be brought into his land.

(32-39) Again: If the Sun send thee a letter (tablet), in which letter the (record) of a matter has been put down, and the messenger report (verbally) to thee about the matter which he has brought to thee: if the words of the messenger agree with the wording of the

<sup>1</sup> Possibly "slaves."

<sup>2</sup> Destroy the writing by putting the tablet into water. The *me* may, however, go with what follows.



letter, then thou, Shunashshura, trust (believe) him. But if the words which thou hast from the mouth of the messenger do not correspond with the words of the letter, thou, Shunashshura, shalt not trust him; and thou shalt surely not take any harm in thy heart over these words.

(40-42) Beginning at the sea (the Black Sea?), they shall draw the boundary and divide (the territory) between Lamia (a city) which belongs to the Sun, and Bituratu, which belongs to Shunashshura. The Sun shall not rebuild Lamia.

(43-51) They shall draw the boundary and divide (the territory) between Arûna (city), which belongs to the Sun and Bituratu, which belongs to Shunashshura. The Sun shall not rebuild Arûna. Between Shâlia, which belongs to the Sun, and Zinziluwa and Erimma, which belong to Shunashshura, they shall draw the boundary and divide (the territory). The Sun shall rebuild Shâlia. Between Anamushta, which belongs to the Sun, and the mountain of Zabarina(?), which belongs to Shunashshura, they shall draw the boundary and divide (the territory). The Sun shall rebuild Anamushta.

(52-57) The ancient boundary of both of these (shall be kept). That which is in the neighborhood (lit., by the side of) Turutuna, let the great king keep, and that which is in the neighborhood of Atania, let Shunashshura keep. From Luwana to Durbina (runs) the boundary of Shunashshura. That which is on the side of Hatti, let the great king keep; that which is on the side of Atania, let Shunashshura keep.

(58-61) Sherigga belongs to the Sun; Luwana, to Shunashshura. The Shamri river (lit., "powerful, raging," river) is the boundary. The great king shall not cross the Shamri river to the side of Atania; Shunashshura shall not cross the Shamri river to the side of Hatti.

(62-66) From Zilabbuna the Shamri river is the boundary, from . . . . the Shamri river is the boundary of Shunashshura. Shunashshura shall not cross the Shamri river to [the Hatti] side; the great king shall not [cross the Shamri river to the side of . . . . ]

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No. 5. Text *KBo.* I, No. 6.

Treaty between Murshili and Rimisharma, king of Aleppo. The original having been broken, a new copy was drawn up by Mutallu, the son of Murshili. This is the text we have.

OBVERSE

(1-2) . . . . the great king, the king of Hatti, the valiant  
. . . . the valiant, the grandson of Shubbiluliuma, the great king  
. . . .

(3-8) A treaty tablet for Rimisharma, king of Halab, my father Murshili caused to be made and the former(?) tablet was broken and I, the great king, wrote another tablet for him. With my seal I sealed it and gave it to him. By day, in the morning, any word which is in this tablet, no one shall blot out. The word of treaty of the great king, it is not to be . . . . not to be broken . . . . the oath and the treaty which my father Murshili made for him, is here written.

(9-10) Thus the Sun, Murshili, the great king, the king of Hatti, son of Shubbiluliuma, the great king, the king of Hatti:

(11-14) Formerly the kings of Halab held a great kingdom (kingship), and their kingdom, Hattushili, the great king, the king of Hatti, took away:<sup>1</sup> After Hattushili, king of Hatti, Murshili, the great king, the grandson of Hattushili, the great king, destroyed the kingdom of Halab and the land of Halab.

(15-18) When Dudhalia, the great king, ascended the royal throne, the king of Halab . . . . with him . . . . the king of Halab with the king of Hanigalbat . . . . and the king of Hanigalbat; and the king of Halab, because of this matter . . . . devastated for him(?) and the city of Halab he destroyed.

(19-20) The king of Halab sinned against the king of Hanigalbat, and with Hattushili, king of Hatti, he . . . .

(21-22) The people of Ashtati . . . . let us make(?) . . . . and our boundaries of Halab . . . . let us . . . . for him.

(23-24) And the king of Mitanni . . . . the people of Nuhashshi, strongholds and boundaries . . . . he gave.

<sup>1</sup> *ullēli*, might also be translated "kept it up."



(25-27) And their tablets . . . . which . . . . these . . . . he wrote for them . . . . with his seal he sealed them . . . . the people of Halab against Hattushili, the king of Hatti, thus committed sin.

(28-32) . . . . to Hattushili, and the king of Hatti . . . . [our] fortresses [and our boundaries] of Halab, returned to him . . . . our fortresses and our boundaries of Halab which the king of Halab . . . . and to the king of Nuhashshi, and he pardoned them . . . . bears.

(33-36) . . . . king of Hatti, my father, [ascended] the throne of royalty . . . . Karkamish, Halab, and the lands of Nuhashshi . . . . which the king of Amurri(?) took from them . . . . our . . . . he established.

(37-41) . . . . the king of Ashtati and against the people of Nuhashshi . . . . king of . . . . fortresses of . . . . of Halab . . . .

## REVERSE

(1-10) . . . . the great king . . . . the Sun . . . . Rimisharma . . . . I will guard, and the sons of Rimisharma, let the sons of the Sun, Murshili, king of Hatti, guard them. And the sons of the Sun, the sons of Rimisharma shall not plunder (ruin) them. The Sun, the great king, shall be the ally of Rimisharma, king of Halab, and Rimisharma, king of Halab, shall be the ally of the Sun, the great king. The sons of the Sun, Murshili, king of Hatti, shall be the allies of the sons of Rimisharma, and the sons of Rimisharma shall be the allies of the sons of the Sun. And we, the sons of Shubbiluliuma, the great king, all of us, and our house, are surely of one (mind) in this matter. The gods of Hatti and the gods of Halab are witnesses.

(11-16) In future days, for the king of Hatti, the kingship of Halab, on him shall surely not(?) —. Let Rimisharma, king of Halab, guard the Sun, Murshili, the great king, the king of Hatti, and let the Sun, Murshili, the great king, guard Rimisharma, king of Halab. Any . . . . to the hand of Rimisharma or to the hand of his son or his grandson, they shall surely not take it away(?). And the kingship of Halab the son or grandson of Rimisharma, king of Halab, shall hold.



(17-22) This tablet, in Hatti, before . . . . the Rabсарis, —hurunuwa, king of . . . . —naia, the Rabсарis, Gashshû . . . . urianni, A—anhabili, . . . . Lupakki,<sup>1</sup> chief of the sons of the palace, . . . . chief of the scribes, . . . . — washili, the scribe . . . . wrote.

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No. 6. Text *KBo.* I, Nos. 7 and 25.

Copy of the treaty, long since known from the hieroglyphic version, between Hattushili, grandson of Shubbiluliuma, and Ramses II. It should be read with Breasted's *Ancient Records*, III, secs. 367 f., at hand.

#### OBVERSE

(1) [Thus, the tablet of the treaty] of Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the great king, [the king of Egypt, the valiant], with Hattushili, [the great king], the king of Hatti, his brother, to give [good] peace, good brotherhood, and great . . . . between them to . . . . Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of Egypt, the valiant in all lands, son of (5) Minmuaria, the great king, the king of Egypt, the valiant, grandson of Minpahiritaria, the great king, [the king of Egypt], the valiant, to Hattushili, the great king, the king of Hatti, the valiant, son of Murshili, the great king, the king of Hatti, the valiant, grandson of Shubbiluliuma, the great king, the king of Hatti, the valiant: Behold, now I have given good brotherhood and good peace between us, to give good peace and good brotherhood for all time in the [relations] of Egypt with Hatti, for all time, thus: Behold the relationship of the great king, the king of Egypt, (10) and the great king, the king of Hatti, from of old; god will not allow an enemy (enmity) to be made between them . . . . forever. Behold, Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of Egypt, to make a relationship such as Riam made, such as Teshub made, for Egypt and for Hatti, by his relationship from eternity . . . . to prevent the making of enmity now and forever and ever; (this) Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of Egypt, has accomplished this (day) by the treaty on a silver tablet (15) with Hattushili, the great king, the king of Hatti, his brother, in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Amarna Letters*, 170, 15.



order to give good peace and good brotherhood, now and forever. He is my brother, and I am brother to him, and I am at peace with him, forever. Let us make our brotherhood and our peace, and let it be a better brotherhood and peace than there was before between Egypt and Hatti.

Behold Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of Egypt, (is in a state) of good peace and good brotherhood with Hattushili, the great king, the king of Hatti. Behold, the sons of Riamashesha-mai-Amana, king of Egypt, (20) are at peace and in brotherly relationship with the sons of Hattushili, the great king, the king of Hatti, forever. And they, because of our state of brotherhood and peace, even Egypt with Hatti, are at peace and in brotherly relationship, as we are, forever.

And Riamashesha-mia-Amana, the great king, the king of Egypt, shall not plunder (devastate) Hatti in order to get something out of it for . . . . and Hattushili, the great king, the king of Hatti, shall not plunder Egypt in order to get something out of it (for) . . . .

Behold the eternal decree which Ria and Teshub have made (25) for Egypt and Hatti, that there should be peace and brotherhood, that they should not allow any enmity (to arise) between them. Behold, Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of Egypt, has taken advantage of (lit., laid hold on) this (decree) to keep the peace unto this day. Behold Egypt (in like manner, shall maintain) its brotherly relations with Hatti, forever. And if another enemy comes against Hatti and Ha[ttushili, the great king, the king of Ha]tti, sends to me, saying: Come to me, be my ally against him. Then Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of Egypt, (30) shall send his troops, his chariots and they shall slay [the enemy] . . . . Hatti. And if Hattushili, the great king, the king of Hatti, is angered against his servants because they have sinned against him, and thou sendest to Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the great king, the king of Egypt, about this, behold Riamashesha-mai-Amana, will send his troops and his chariots and they shall destroy all who oppose them.

And if another enemy come against Egypt, and Riamashesha-mai-Amana, the king of Egypt, thy brother, sends to Hattushili,



(35) the king of Hatti, his brother, saying; "Come to my aid against him." Then Hattushili, king of Hatti, shall send his troops and his chariots, and shall kill my enemy. And if Riamashesha-mai-Amana, king of Egypt, is angered against his servants because they have sinned against him, and I send to Hattushili, king of Hatti, my brother, about [this], then Hattushili, king of Hatti, shall send his troops and his chariots and they shall slay all who oppose him.

(40) And behold, the son of Hattushili, king of Hatti, . . . . (whatever) he does(?) . . . . in the place of Hattushili, his father, after years . . . . (if any . . . . of) Hatti commit sin . . . . until he returns the chariots . . . .

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No. 7. Text *KBo.* I, Nos. 15 and 19.

As Meissner observed, this badly broken text is evidently the Hittite version of the famous battle of Kadesh, described in prose and verse by the scribes of Ramses II. Here also Breasted's *Ancient Records* should be kept in hand (III, secs. 294 f.).

#### OBVERSE

(3-9) And thou . . . . to hear what — when — me . . . . this matter thou could'st not. . . . Truth, not truth (are) these words. . . . Over all that was done . . . . for him, and let them do it, and when thou . . . . many to a side, and so far thou hast not . . . .

(10-14) Again: And what thou hast written me, I . . . . thus: thou art not mindful of the days when the enemy. . . . Behold, the enmity which this god and this one . . . . in the midst of the enemy of Hatti, like . . . . of Muttalli, king of Hatti . . . .

(15-23) And the armies (camps) of the great king, the king of Egypt . . . . and when the armies which were in front of the great king, the king of [Egypt] . . . . (the road to) Hatti he was taking, and they said . . . . three armies are advancing over the roads and thus far . . . . and the king is sitting on his throne by the side(?) . . . . they made, they burned, and while the king . . . . went (rushed) about, and the king did not know . . . . together with the lands that were with him, all of them . . . . his side(?), and there were no armies of mine(?) [in] my — and no armies [of his in . . . . ].



(24-28, 3-7) I carried off the enemies of these lands, of the land, of . . . . before the sons of Egypt (Egyptians) and before the sons of Hatti (Hittites) . . . . and when thou didst say to my armies: there are no armies in . . . . one of his armies was in the midst of Amurru, and a second army (was in . . . . ) . . . . and the second army was approaching Taminta . . . .

(29-31, 8-16) And when the king — thy — to Kinahhi, against (in front of) . . . . [against] Hatti thou wast exceedingly haughty(?) . . . . [against] Kinza and against Hareta, and against . . . . and Muwatalli, king of [Hatti], . . . . and he was sitting in the city . . . . why these to (against) . . . . against them, and if . . . . me, and he(?) . . . . thee(?), behold, the oath . . . .

## REVERSE

(1-2, 1-8) . . . . Shamash of Kianna(?), before the great gods . . . . which thou didst do (make) against me . . . .

. . . . dost thou remember the enemy . . . . behold, the great gods of the lands . . . we made, thus I did not . . . . I will guard him, greatly peace . . . .

(3-6, 9-12) And I did not know any of these things. . . . Thou hast written to me as follows: Seize him . . . . are seized, but they did not seize him. Behold, the good condition . . . . for Egypt with Hatti, before me for. . . .

(7-15, 13-17) Again: And what thou hast written about the matter of Paku . . . . together with a hundred others, when he . . . . of the Meluhhites (people of Meluhha); Biati thou shalt not give . . . . like him. Behold, Birihnawa, the old man . . . . thou shalt not give. The governor(?). . . . Behold, Riannâ(?) . . . . to make, the governor of . . . . to make, the king of Halba, . . . . against them, and they were not like . . . .

(16-22) And thou hast written about the matter . . . . and the city of Kiswadna . . . . about this matter . . . . thus he stands and . . . . before Shamash, before . . . . and the king at thy side greatly . . . . the great gods, they will . . . .

(23-26) Behold, this . . . who was (or did) not . . . . and the king . . . .



No. 8. Text *KBo.* I, No. 29.

Naptera, wife of Ramses II, sends greetings to Pudu-Hepa, wife of Hattushili. On the silver tablet containing Ramses' copy of the "Hittite treaty" there were represented the figures of the Hittite king and queen. "[That which is in the middle on its other side] is a figure, in the likeness of — (goddess) of Kheta, embracing the figure of the princess of Kheta, surrounded by the following words: 'The seal of the Sun-god of the city of Ernen (Arinna), the lord of the land; the seal of Petkhep (Pudu-Hepa), the princess of the land of Kheta, the daughter of the land of Kezweden (Kissuwadni),' etc."—Breasted, *Ancient Records*, III, sec. 391.<sup>1</sup>

(1-2) Thus: Naptera, the great queen of Egypt, to Pudu-Hepa, the great queen of Hatti, my sister. Speak!

(3) To me, thy sister, there is peace, to my land there is peace.

(4-11) To thee, my sister, may there be peace, to thy land may there be peace. Behold, I have heard that my sister has written to me, to ask about my health (lit., peace), and she has written to me about the relationship of good peace, about the relationship of good brotherhood wherein the great king, the king of Egypt, (abides) with the great king, the king of Hatti, his brother.

(12-19) Ria and Teshub will lift up thy head, and Ria will give peace for thy benefit. And he will give good brotherhood of the great king, the king of Egypt, with the great king, the king of Hatti, his brother, forever. And I am at peace and sisterly with the great queen, my sister; I, now [and forever].

No. 9. Text *KBo.* I, No. 21.

Perhaps another letter from Naptera to Pudu-Hepa. It may have formed part of the correspondence which led to the visit of the Hittite king, Hattushili, to Egypt to be present at the marriage of his eldest daughter to Ramses II (1259 B.C.).

## OBVERSE

(1-6) . . . . daughter . . . . against Id<sup>2</sup>— . . . . to send it to the king . . . . what my sister wishes to be sent to . . . . to send it.

<sup>1</sup> I have added in parentheses the proper names as they appear in the cuneiform.

<sup>2</sup> A man's name.



(7-13) . . . . these men of the land of Ga— . . . . them, and they are obedient . . . . of my brother with him . . . . the sister(?) who in it . . . . which they made for them, not for my sister(?) . . . . thou art a lady of the land of . . . . her —, all . . . .

(14-16) . . . . and what my sister has written me . . . . thus: "He will not give them . . . . in their houses(?) . . . ."

## REVERSE

(1-4) . . . . what my sister has written to me, behold [the things] have been done . . . before them according to the right, and according as they do . . . . to bring(?) anything before them . . . . to bring before another.

(5-8) . . . . what my sister has written to me . . . . their — marched . . . . is desirous of coming here(?) . . . . they —, they —.

(9-13) . . . . behold, I am burning (with desire), . . . . with Riamashia . . . . to come before thee . . . . to see how you are (your peace) . . . . the peace of your land.

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No. 10. Text *KBo.* I, No. 23.

A letter concerning the bringing-up of a child born to the king of Egypt, possibly a little granddaughter of Hattushili (cf. No. 9).

## OBVERSE

(1-2) Copy of the writing which Teshub made between Egypt and between Hatti.

(3-11) What was not<sup>1</sup> upon the writing which thou didst send: A daughter was born to the king of Egypt. The writing speaks thus, and the great gods of Egypt spoke to him; and to speak the truth is on their lips; and as men act, so may he; they spoke to him, saying: "This daughter which has been born to thee, bring her to us and we will make her queen (lit., to queenship) of another land."

<sup>1</sup> I do not understand the force of the negative. Meissner suggests it is a mistake for *ultu*, but this would not make any sense either.



(12-15) And the land in which we will make her queen shall be made, together with Egypt, . . . . their . . . . and that one said(?) . . . . they keep her . . . .

## REVERSE

(1-5) Written according to the wording (mouth) of the original tablet: nothing has been changed.

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No. 11. Text *KBo.* I, No. 24.

A letter from Ramses to the king of Mirâ, in which he denies having acted in a manner contrary to his treaty with the Hittite king.

## OBSERVE

(1-5) Thus Washmuaria-Shatebnaria, the great king, [the king of Egypt], son of Ria, Riamasli-seha-mai-Amana, to Sha— (or Ku—), king of Mirâ, speak: Behold, to me [there is peace, to my house there is peace, to my wife there is peace], to my sons there is peace, to my troops there is peace, to my horses [there is peace] to my chariots there is peace, in the midst of all of my land there is abundant [peace].

(6) To thee, king of Mirâ, may there be peace, to thy land may [there be peace].

(7-13) Behold, the great king, the king of Egypt, has heard all the words [which thou hast written] to me about what follows: Concerning the matters about Urhi-Teshub, they did not [happen after the manner] of what thou hast written me thereof. And so again I say: Behold the good relationship which the great king, the king of Egypt, has established (made) with the king of [Hatti], my brother: in good brotherhood and good peace, like Ria, and [Teshub] may they live forever. Again, behold the matter of Urhi-Teshub, whereof thou [hast written me], the great king, the king of Hatti, has acted according to . . . .

(14-20) And that one wrote to me thus about him: Let him give . . . . the great king, the king of Egypt, for the quieting of his troops, let him give for the . . . . and let that one give his gold, and let that one give his silver, and let him give his horses. And give thou for the giving of his bronze, and give . . . . and let him seize Urhi-Teshub . . . . great king, the king of . . . .



## REVERSE

(1-2) . . . . the great king, the king of Hatti. . . .

(3-7) . . . . this word about which . . . . I have written to thee and about which thou hast written to me . . . . concerning them (*fem.*). Behold the writing of the oath which I swore for the great king, the king of Hatti, my brother, it is placed under the feet of [Teshub], before the great gods. Are they not the witnesses [of these words?]

(8-10) And behold, the writing of the oath which the great king, [the king of Hatti], swore (made) for me. It is placed under the feet of Ria, . . . . before the great gods. Are they not the witnesses of these words?

(11-15) I have held fast to the oath, I have not let it go. Thou, do thou not [believe] the words of untruth which thou hast heard about (the matter). There is nothing in it. Behold the good relationship (of brotherhood) and peace wherein I (live) with the great king [the king of Hatti]. Therein I (abide) now and forever.

No. 12. Text *KBo*, I, No. 8.

Treaty between Hattushili and Bantishinna of Amurru. The opening lines contain references to Shubbiluliuma's treaty with Azira of Amurru, pictured in the Amarna letters, by those who did not like him, as a consummate villain.

## OBSERVE

(1-3) [Thus Hattushili, the great king, etc., grandson] of Shubbiluliuma, the king of Hatti, the valiant [with Bantishinna]. . . . ,

(4-6) Before Shubbiluliuma, my grandfather, Azira, king [of Amurru, had fled and thrown himself on the mercy of the king] of Egypt, and [then, later, he threw himself] at the feet of Shubbiluliuma, my grandfather, and my grandfather had mercy on him and wrote a treaty of peace (tablet of treaty), the boundaries of Amurru as his fathers knew them,<sup>1</sup> he defined (lit., wrote) and gave to him.

(7-10) When Shubbiluliuma, my grandfather, died, Murshili, my father, the son of Shubbiluliuma, sat on the royal throne. In

<sup>1</sup> Lit., "of his fathers."



Amurru, Idin-Teshub seized the kingship. After Idin-Teshub, Abbi-Teshub seized the royal throne. According to the treaty which Shubbiluliuma, my grandfather, wrote for Azira, the treaty (lit., tablet) of my grandfather they observed.

(11-15) After my father, Muwattalli, my brother, seized the royal throne. Muwattalli, my brother, — Bantishinna. [When Azira] died, Bantishinna of Amurru seized the royal throne. Muwattalli, my brother, . . . . Bantishinna, king of Amurru, from the throne of Amurru he removed him and brought him to Hatti. I, at that time, requested him of Muwattalli, my brother, and alone(?) I took him to Haggamishsha; a palace I gave him; no harm befell him (lit., he saw no harm); I guarded him.

(16-21) When Nergal had snatched the great king to his fate, I, Hattushili, sat on the throne of my father. Bantishinna, a second time, I made ruler(?) of [Amurru]. The house of his father and the royal throne I confirmed upon him. Between us [we established] kinship. . . . . My son Nerikka-ilim took the daughter of Bantishinna of Amurru for his wife. . . . . And the king's daughter, Gashshuliaie, in Amurru, for the king's house, to Bantishinna I gave for his wife. . . . . (In) Amurru she shall hold the place of queen (?). The kingship in Amurru shall belong to the son and grandson of my daughter for all time.

(22-27) . . . . . again(?) spoke as follows: To my lord: surely a dead man was I, . . . . my . . . . of Amurru, to the throne of my father he restored me . . . . to life he restored me, and may my lord, the tablet of treaty and oath . . . . let them write(?) . . . . Bantishinna of Amurru, as king, in future days, the kingship of Amurru [shall hold]. . . . . From(?) the hand of his son or the hand of his grandson, let no one take it. . . . . Whatever thou, Bantishinna shalt ask of me, I, the Sun, will not withhold it.

(28-33) [I, the Sun, wrote] for Bantishinna a treaty tablet according to the original tablet which Shubbiluliuma, the great king [had written for Azira], . . . . the great king, wrote for Bantishinna, king of Amurru, according to the text (lit., mouth) of the treaty of my [grandfather Shubbiluliuma], and I gave it to him.



The kingship of the king of Amurru, to Bantishinna, to the hand of his son, his grandson, . . . . [Banti]shinna, and the seed of my daughter has seized (holds) it, they shall not take it from him(?). The kingship of Amurru, the son of Bantishinna, his grandson, the brother of Bantishinna, or my daughter's son. . . . If against Bantishinna or against his son, his grandson, anyone shall plan any harm, this one is the enemy of the king of Hatti and of the sons of the king of Hatti.

(34-36) . . . . a king's daughter he does not take, sons he does not have, whether a king's son of Amurru . . . . or a son of his brother, or a daughter of his [brother]. Bantishinna whom I — because of these things, . . . . of Hatti(?) and the sons of Hatti, truly they shall not —

(37-44) . . . . for thee, Bantishinna I have made . . . . in Amurru on the throne of royalty I have placed thee. And if thou . . . . this . . . . Hattushili, the king, . . . . Pudu-Hepa, the great queen, thy lady, his son, his grandson, . . . . [of] Hattushili, the king, and of Pudu-Hepa, the queen, . . . . lordship thou dost not guard, may the oath by the gods . . . . any son of mine, grandson of mine, any . . . . of mine, whether it be my brother or the son of my brother, whether it be a son-in-law (or mine) . . . . another . . . . is he. Thou . . . . my son, my grandson, thou shalt not send; to . . . . place (thou shalt not?) go; when . . . . thy wife, (thy) sons, thy brother, . . . . the head of(? the king . . . .)

## REVERSE

(1-4) . . . . king of Hatti . . . . to plunder(?) he has sent out. If . . . . from — thou goest . . . .

(5-11) And if a king's son, a great lord, with his troops and his chariots . . . . against another country, to plunder, I send . . . . his chariots does not guard but with the enemy . . . . anything does not do. Thus thou shalt say to(?) . . . . and if the enemy —, I (will) indeed. . . . Shall send, behold, the troops of Hatti . . . . from the oath . . . .<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. No. 3, Col. II, 6f.



No. 13. Text *KBo.* I, No. 10.

A diplomatic letter from Hattushili to Kadashmanturgu of Babylonia (Karduniash). The latter, a minor, seems to be under the thumb of an old "grand vizier" who is not inclined to be friendly toward the Hittite king. Hattushili also attempts to settle the trouble between the Babylonian king and Bantishinna of Amurru. I fail to grasp the meaning of a number of sections of the correspondence.

OBVERSE

(1-2) [Hattushili], the great king, the king of Hatti, [to Kadashmanturgu], the great king, the king of Karduniash, my brother, speak:

(3-4) [Before me there] is peace. To my house, my wife, my sons, my troops, my horses, my chariots, my land, all of it, there is abundant peace.

(5-6) [Before thee], may there be peace. To thy house, thy wives, thy sons, thy troops, [thy horses], thy chariots, and in the midst of thy whole land, may there be abundant peace.

(7-24) [When thou] and I established kinship and became good brothers again (lit., to good brothers returned), we did not do it (return) for one day, we did not establish brotherhood and kinship which shall have an end . . . let us now establish, saying: We are mortals (lit., people) . . . whether (either of us) goes to his fate or lives, let him guard his sons, and from the gods . . . who made us (or for us?). Now when thy father went to his fate, (as though we had been) brothers, I mourned the death of thy father, my tears were copious, a messenger [I sent] and to the nobles of Karduniash I am now sending (this): "If the [claim] of my brother to rulership thou dost not recognize (lit., guard), I will make war on you. [After the messenger?] I will advance into Karduniash. And if any enemy marches against you, write to me. I will surely come to your aid." Further: In days past my brother (spoke) thus: "The tablets they did not read (lit., call) before thee." Now these scribes are not living (any more). None of the tablets has been cast aside. Let them now read these tablets before thee. I



wrote these words to them as a matter of decency. But Itti-Marduk-balatu, whom the gods have allowed to grow old beyond limits (lit., no traversing), in whose mouth evil words have no end; the words which he wrote—my heart was torn by his word (message). Thus (he spoke): "Thou dost not address us as brothers, as thy slaves thou art subjecting us."

(25-35) Thus to my brother: "Why should I have subjugated them as my servants? Never have the sons of Karduniash (Babylonians) subjugated the sons of Hatti, nor have the sons of Hatti ever subjugated the sons of Karduniash." With kind word(s) I thus addressed them: "Let them guard the seed of my brother Kadash-manturgu." And this Itti-Marduk-balatu replied: "Why did I address these slanderous words to them?" These things Itti-Marduk-balatu is writing. Now let me address this to them: "If thou dost not guard the son of your lord for the rulership, never, if any enemy comes against you, will I come to your aid." I never took a word of Itti-Marduk-balatu into my heart. In those days my brother was a minor and Itti-Marduk-balatu an evil man when he was speaking before him. But surely, why should I accept his word?

(36-54) Thus to my brother: Concerning the matter about which my brother has written: "That I have discontinued my messengers. Because the Ahlamu are hostile, I have discontinued my messengers." What is this word? That thou, my brother, because of the Ahlamu, hast thou discontinued thy messengers: that the kingship of my brother is diminished: and that words which are not good are spoken before my brother by (lit., at the hand of) Itti-Marduk-balatu: and that my brother for these reasons has discontinued his messengers. In the land of my brother horses are more numerous than straw. A thousand chariots accompanied thy messenger, to Duldul they brought him (safely); as for the Ahlamu, they kept their hands off. And if my brother now says: "The king of Assyria (detains) my messenger in the midst of his land . . . he does not bring(?)." The king of Assyria with camp and chariots . . . thy land is not conquered. Surely thy messenger, because of the might . . . thy land. What king of Assyria is it who restrains thy messenger?



. . . . they go, and the king of Assyria restrains thy messengers, (why) dost thou not go with me? My brother, thou art a great king, and in night. . . . And, my brother, behold, as I am in love with my brother . . . . but my brother does not send his messengers . . . . do(es) not know. The matter about which my brother has written, surely I will attend to it . . . . are at war, their messengers do not go together . . . . why dost thou keep back thy messenger?

(55-81) [Concerning] the messenger of the king of Egypt about whom my brother has written: [About this messenger of the king of] Egypt, now to my brother I will write: [The king of Egypt] and I, we have established kinship and have become brothers again. . . . (We) say: we are brothers. And thus: with the enemy of both [we are at war, and with], the friend . . . . of both at peace. And when the king of Egypt [and I] were angry, to thy father Kadashmanturgu, I wrote: "[The king of Egypt] has made war against me." And thy father replied as follows: "[As . . . .] went against the king of Egypt, so will I go with thee. . . . I will go, camp and chariots, such as I have, for the march. . . ." Now, my brother, ask thy soldiers and let them tell thee . . . . camp and chariots, as thou shalt command(?), with me for [the march I shall take] . . . . whatever . . . . he took. My enemy, who (flees) to another land (and) comes before the king of Egypt, according to my letter to him . . . . and he, (if) he does not hand over my enemy, [I and the king of] Egypt shall be angry with each other. But [we will be at war] with each other (if) he comes to aid my enemy . . . . the king of Egypt has interrupted [the messengers of my brother] and after my brother . . . . Egypt wrote, and the matter of the messenger . . . . (the king of) Egypt . . . . thee . . . . he took (seized). Now . . . . writes (has written): I am restrained, restrain thee (67) . . . . and now a valiant man art thou . . . . the peace of my brother . . . . let them receive (take) . . . . make(?) . . . . now . . . . if . . . .

(82-83) . . . . three times, four times . . . . son and son of . . . .



## REVERSE

(1-8) . . . . Kadashmanturgu and I . . . . Karduniash . . . .  
king of Hatti . . . . king of Karduniash . . . . through love for his  
brother the son of his brother shall guard . . . . through love for  
his father . . . . from east to west they have heard . . . . speaks to  
me, let them hear.

(9-13) . . . . wrote. That (for) Adad-shar-ilani I had rendered a decision . . . . brought him(?). The lawsuits of the merchants of the king of Karkamish . . . . them. My brother, hasten, send another messenger . . . none of their litigants have I sent . . . . let them judge.

(14-25) Now thou hast written as follows: My merchants, in Amurru, (the people of?) Ugarit (. . . . ?) slew; in Hatti they did not slay them (lit., did not slay the corpse) . . . . they slew. If the king gives ear (hears) to this matter . . . . (and) he captures (seizes) the slayer (lit., slayer of the corpse), to the brothers of the slain [he shall hand him over] and the property (furniture) of the slain his brothers shall take, and they shall hang the slayer in the city in which the man was slain (lit., which the corpse was slain). And if his brothers . . . . they shall not receive. The slayer . . . . shall . . . . him. If a man who has committed a sin against the king flees to another country . . . . against killing there is no commandment(?), my brother, ask and let them tell thee. . . . . The slayer of the criminal they did not kill, a merchant they did kill . . . . whether the Subari . . . . how does he know? If they did kill (him), then I(?) will hear(?) the brothers of the slain merchants and will look into their case (suit).

(26-33) Thus to my brother: Concerning Bantishinni about whom my brother has written: "He is cursing the land." When I asked Bantishinni, he spoke as follows: "Three talents of silver were owed (me) by the people of the city of Akkad." And now, behold the vassalage of Bantishinni (to me) has come about, let my brother bring suit against him. And because of the curses against the land of my brother, Bantishinni shall take oath before my gods in the presence of Adad-shar-ilani, thy messenger. And if my brother does



not trust (me in this matter), let thy servant who heard Bantishinni when he cursed the land of my brother, come and try him. And I will press (the matter) against Bantishinni; Bantishinni is my vassal, if he curses my brother, does he not curse me?

(34-41) Thus to my brother: Concerning the physician about whom thou hast written: My physician, when they took him, prayed for him(?), but the sick man, when he — him, (saying) "Over him I sigh, — I—" . . . found (reached) him, he was dead. And his servants, behold, they have seized my messenger. My brother, (ask) them, let them tell my brother the things which my physician did. And if (what) I gave them they have lost and are afraid, let them bring the matter before my brother. My brother . . . the chariot, wagons, horses, silver, and furniture which I gave to the physician, which . . . let them return(?). And let me send a letter to my brother, let my brother hear. . . . found him, (he was) dead. My physician I am holding back, and shall hold back from you(?).

(42-48) . . . from(?) my brother Muattalli they took an *ashipu* priest and a physician. They kept them back. I said to him, why dost thou hold them back? . . . to hold them is not lawful. And now I am holding back a physician for you(?) . . . the former, whom they took, truly the *ashipu* is dead . . . the woman whom he married, she is of my seed. Then take some lumps . . . to my land I will go; let him arise, let him go . . . the physician, Raba-sha-Marduk, I am holding back for you(?).

(49-55) . . . thus; my brother has turned into a mighty man and has grown up to be a young wild-ox . . . of the seed of my brother, Kadashmanturgu, Adad (Teshub) they raise(?) . . . go and plunder the land of the enemy and I will surely hear it and . . . we(?) will slay. Thus to my brother: "The king who put aside his weapons . . . him." Not so did they speak to him . . . my brother, thou art not dwelling. To the land of the enemy go and kill the enemy . . . went (let them go). To a land three or four times as great, go.

(56-57) . . . one (a certain?) . . . angered his father, and behold, his wife, his son . . . did not bring him.



(58-61) . . . . I will make, and in the house of my family(?) I will set (it). My brother . . . . a bound man . . . . they finished(?) . . . . I wrote to him and he came. The bound man . . . . Kadashmanturgu did not seize, did not take . . . . do not hold back.

(62-66) . . . . stallions, fine young animals, send. The stallions which thy father . . . . now my brother has sent, are — and broken down, and the horses are old . . . . (in my) country it is very cold and old horses cannot live . . . . send young horses, broken down horses are plenty in my land . . . . let him tell thee.

(67-72) . . . . not good why did he bring? To the word which he brought . . . . why this? The servants of thy father I caused to be brought, and now the work . . . . and lapislazuli . . . . which he caused to be brought, make, and . . . . not good thou didst cause to be brought to me . . . . before we . . . . to the brothers . . . . any . . . . lapislazuli not from Karduniash . . . . since to my brother . . . . lapislazuli he caused to be brought.

(73-77) . . . . (of) my lord, I desired . . . . bring . . . . I will send . . . . I will cause to be brought . . . . tablets . . . . now tablets . . . . as many as . . . . which thy father caused to be brought . . . . my brother wishes, my brother for much(?) gold did not . . . .

(78-81) . . . . of my brother I know, and peace is disturbed(?) . . . . in my house there are, to my brother I will cause to be sent. . . . my brother, and anything else which my brother (desires) . . . . in my house there are, to my brother I will not . . . .

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No. 14. Text *KBo.* I, No. 14.

A badly broken letter in which the king of Hatti explains to the Egyptian king(?) why he has not been more prompt in sending some iron that had been asked for.

#### OBVERSE

(1-5) . . . . I wrote to thee . . . . these thou didst write . . . .



(6-19) . . . . Turira plundered my land . . . . Karkamish, since here, the land of . . . . the king of Hanigalbat dug(?) for himself . . . . Turira, not any since I sent thy . . . . Turira what? Turira — . . . . not . . . . of the king of Hanigalbat, the matter of Turira, dost thou not see? When Turira, the land, was plundered, into the city of Turira the plunder was brought(?); my servants who were robbed, came(?) into Turira. If they are dwelling in Turira(?), reimburse (? , lit., fill up) my servants who are dwelling in the city; none of them shalt thou approach. If they are not dwelling in(?) Turira, write to me and I will surely reimburse(?) thy men who are dwelling in the city; to none of them will I approach. Why do the people of Turira hear my name as that of a lion?

(20-24) As to the good iron about which thou hast written to me: There is no good iron in my "sealed" house in Kissuwadna. It is a bad (time) to make iron, but I have written (ordering) them to make good iron. So far they have not finished it. When they finish it, I will send it to thee. Behold, now, I am sending thee an iron dagger-blade.

(25-28) . . . . the — which thou hast sent have no blades . . . . [I have ordered blades] to be made, but so far they have not finished them. [When they finish them, I will send them] to thee. When the weapon(?) which I — to thee, . . . . the wishes which thou didst write.

## REVERSE

(1-10) . . . . the great king, the king of Karaduniash . . . . he wrote to thee . . . . to thee. [He did] not send thee any good greetings (presents). When I seized the kingship, thou didst not send a messenger. The obligation of kings, when they attain to (seize) the kingship, to send each other good greetings (presents), a kingly garment, good [oil] for anointing, this thou hast not done at this time.

(11-19) Behold now, my messenger whom I have sent to thee, and the one "mighty one" I have detained (or, detain) here, and because of these things I have detained (or, detain) him. All of the requests which thou hast written . . . . I have sent to thee. And



because of these things [I have detained (or, detain)] him. The messengers which thou didst send to me before Si(?)'in, were found to be ill; today . . . . thou shalt not speak as if the one who sees a sick man (or sickness) at that time, and thou shalt not ask a "mighty one" in their going, . . . . whether they are well anointed(?).

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No. 15. Text *KBo.* I, No. 11.

Concerning the trouble which some successor of Dudhalia, son of Hattushili, had with rebels inside and outside his city, possibly Hatti.

#### OBVERSE

(1-9) . . . . bring me(?) . . . . he sent: go . . . . behold me . . . . rebellious, stubborn(?). Thirty chariots of the city of . . . . which entered into Ashili, they seized and to the city of Hurihhi they went). . . . Thus Kuleid:<sup>1</sup> "The sons of Mar-Teshub fought because of the kingship (over the kingship). . . . Thou, why dost thou turn away, and daily dost bring before the king . . . . ? As for them, they are hostile and I am hostile."

(10-21) Shanda brought the command: Thus the king: "Why dost thou not make war? . . . . in canopied chariots thou dost stand, to whatever thou dost turn, it is near (favorable) to thee. If thou didst humble thyself before him, why didst thou kill him? . . . . why didst thou fear (honor) him? Now all is done. The sons of Laria for(?) Laria sang the song of the god Zamama in Hush-kiwantesh, . . . . They brought *lazilu*, they took away an ax; they brought reeds, they took away a *kirassu*; they brought a *shakkul*,<sup>2</sup> they took away all kinds of *sharmu*(?)." As(?) Dudhalia made it, so thou dost now make the request: Thus the king: "Go, ask them. When I go to the city Tashshita, wilt thou set the gate on fire? wilt thou give battle?" Thus they (reply): "For the eighth time we are giving battle, their — we will storm, the city we will destroy." Thus, the king: "'Tis well."

(22-32) Until they had destroyed every city (lit., until any city they did not make), the many servants of the king fought, and

<sup>1</sup> An Arabic-sounding name.

<sup>2</sup> "Bolt of a door."



many died. The king was attacked. Thus the king: "Guard the roads which enter the city and those which leave the city, guard (them) well that no enemy go out to the city of Aruar, to Halab, to the Harri, to Luppa." Thus they (replied): "We are on guard. Eighty chariots of eight men surround the city. Let not the heart of the king be cast down, to its place let it —." A fugitive going out of the city spoke as follows: "A servant of a Halabite entered five times, a servant of Luppa is dwelling in the city, men of Aruar entered and went out, a servant of Mar-Teshub, my lord, went back and forth, speaking thus: 'Behold I have gathered silver, clothes, oxen, sheep, I will give them to the soldiers of Harri. If they are opposed (hostile), seven times . . . will I carry off, if some of my land they carry off, double will I carry away, before . . .'"

The king stood up. Thus the king: "The words which were spoken to thee . . . eighty chariots of eight men . . ."

#### REVERSE

(1-9) Shanda brought the command: Thus [the king]: ". . . five roads Shanda, two roads Menania (shall guard)." . . . Thus the king: "Shanda, go . . . make, while thou art going, let him destroy the city; truly . . . he destroyed, and sin was committed. If thou dost stand . . . he destroyed and now thou art starting (?) to fight . . . to a distance let him(?) go . . . go, before me come, go, under . . . anyone sees him." Thus they (spoke): "We will stand, and sin we will destroy . . ."

(10-18) Thus the king: "They have destroyed the city, sin has been committed, crime has been committed." Thus they (replied): "For the eighth time we have waged battle. The city he has destroyed, but we will destroy (wipe out) the sin. May the king be gracious." *Kuru* they sent, the king went forth(?), overpowered(?) (them), not many (were there?). An evil word they brought: "May the stone of Teshub<sup>1</sup> overwhelm you." Thus the king: "Do not be puffed up. The *kuru* of the Harri make, and let it be put down. A *hursha* make, and set it down. A great *kuru* from

<sup>1</sup> The thunderbolt is meant.



Mount Hanishu bring, let it be set down . . . . is seized. Now let anyone seize his land, wage war. And what is theirs, may he smash their word."

(19-20) Thus Shariwanda: "The cold has come, may the bolt of heaven be 'poured out' by day, and may heaven —. May it be well with the king (or, may the king be gracious)."

(21-27) As king, Shanda —ed in Luhussandia, and the king questioned a servant of a man of Karkamish: "How is the land talking (what do people say)?" Thus he (replied): "If he destroys Urshu (a city), (and) a servant falls into our hand, then their servants, who are dwelling in the mountain, will see it." Thus the king: "Thou shalt think about it I will think about it. Go speak to them: If thou and if thou dost take care and it turns out favorably, there will be no evil in Hatti. But now Nusizanu and Kuliaid have done evil. Now thou hast seen what the man of Karkamish has done."

(28-33) Let anyone think (of a thing), Iriaia will come and be obstreperous. A pillar and *kuru* we bring, pillar and *kuru* they do not bring. The matter he will see and let him not —(?), he brings (will bring?). Now approach him, thus address him: "You have been obstreperous toward us and we have been obstreperous toward the king. . . . In Hatti there are no pillar and *kuru* because this one is near the yoke(?)."

(34-37) The king abandoned the word of my father, the word of my grandfather. A GIRGAL comes and a powerful soldier(?) comes in . . . . great ones in their(?) place, the chief of the shepherds did not (let him not) . . . . leave. May the king not — his command.

No. 16. Text *KBo.* I, No. 20.

#### OBVERSE

(1-21) . . . . your great . . . . your lord, to his eyes I . . . .  
At the time Adad-nirari, (our?) lord, from Hanigalbat . . . . they  
were hostile. Hanigalbat . . . . their fortress they left, to . . . .



they entered. That which, when the Shuprite<sup>1</sup> king . . . this one, whom for protection thou didst (invite) against me, and the throne he seized . . . fortress and fugitive who from Hanigalbat had turned to you, everyone he seized . . . fortress and fugitive of yours (?) he (they) . . . the wealth he (they?) destroyed, to . . . they entered . . .

## REVERSE

(1-5) . . . My lord, the Shuprite king . . . your foundations(?) he . . . your whole land, by oppression, he . . .

(6-9) At the time Hanigalbat, when they were destroyed . . . for their . . . who (what) . . . when they were many and . . . what . . .

(10-16) The Shuprite king, from my lord, truly . . . while they were alive, the lord of the oath . . . my lord, what . . .

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No. 17. Text *KBo.* I, No. 22.

## OBVERSE

(1-2) . . . despise him(?), to . . . thus has spoken.

(3-13) . . . they have caused them to come(?) to thee . . . to guard(?) their command . . . these — which that one caused to be brought to him (or them) . . . there is not, and the king, let him write to thee . . . all which are alike, to make it(?) . . .

## REVERSE

(1-2) . . . before Teshub, before(?) . . .

(3-8) . . . into Kiswadna he marched . . . who —ed him, there was not. Into Halsua he came . . . who —ed him, there was none. Into Kinza he came . . . — him.

(11-15) . . . they came together with this man, and they . . . that one (took) the daughter of the king with him to be his wife . . . and if evil is done . . . him, and if good(?) is done . . . thy — all of them, command now, and the sons of the land of . . . together with the sons of Amurru . . .

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<sup>1</sup> Gentile of Shupria? Cf. for this land, Schiffer, *Die Aramäer*, p. 146.



No. 18. Text *KBo.* I, No. 26.

. . . . Hatti to the land of. . . . Be mindful of the oath by the  
god, thou . . . . to what king art thou not writing today? . . . .  
good vessels of gold, a *bibru* . . . . *nibihu* garments, horses . . . .  
good *attaganna*(?) and . . . . gold — . . . .

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No. 19. Text *KBo.* I, No. 27.

(1-4) . . . . my enemy is she(?) . . . . son of the messenger  
(*sukallim*) . . . . the queen commanded . . . . his *madu* together  
with his sons . . . .

(5-10) . . . . [Han]teli, queen of Luk— (a city) . . . . and  
these he (she?) killed . . . . by the gate he caused to stand . . . .  
his family seized him(?) . . . . bring them, in my hand . . . .  
them . . . .

(11-15) . . . . Lishtib went to his fate. . . . Bisheni, son of  
Hanteli . . . . he (she) killed . . . . which (of) Bisheni . . . .



## BABYLONIA AS AN ASSYRIAN DEPENDENCY

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With the end of the dynasty of Nebuchadnezzar I,<sup>1</sup> Babylonia ceases to have an independent history. With the same change, the problem of Babylonia becomes the most serious that the Assyrian statesman has to meet. The first phase is where Babylonia is still admittedly independent, yet demands more and more Assyrian intervention to prevent internal wars or conquest by the invader. In the second phase, Assyria attempts to solve the problem by means of a personal union. With the failure of this attempt, a policy of despair results in the destruction of Babylon. The restoration of the city, the renewed rebellions, and the successful uprising of the Chaldaeans close the last phase of the Assyro-Babylonian relations.

The rise to power of the Fifth Dynasty did indeed coincide with a temporary decline in Assyrian power. However propitious the time might appear for a revival in the south, Babylonia was in no condition to take advantage of the opportunity. "During the uprisings and disturbances in Akkad," so a later king informs us, "the Sutu, evil foe, had overthrown Ebabbara," the temple of Shamash in Sippar. "They had destroyed the sculptured reliefs, his law was forgotten, his figure and his insignia had disappeared, and none beheld them."<sup>2</sup> No doubt this was typical of the conditions which prevailed in all the alluvium. Added to this series of attacks from outside were internal troubles, or rather, foreigners ruled the land with short reigns and in rapidly changing dynasties. First came a dynasty from the Sea Lands, those same swamps on the southeastern border which had already given one dynasty to Babylonia. Its founder, Simmash Shipak (1035-1017), the son of Erba Sin, was a priest<sup>3</sup> and *ridu* official who claimed descent from Damiq ilishu of the earlier Sea Lands dynasty. Of him our royal informant reports

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Olmstead, *AJSL*, XXXVI, 120 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Nabu apal iddina ins., I, 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> List, Johns, *PSBA*, XL, 126.



"Simmash Shipak, King of Babylon, sought for the figure of Shamash, but he did not reveal himself to him, his image and his insignia he did not find. He erected an enclosure before Shamash and established his stated offerings." Aside from this, our knowledge is limited to the fact that he made the throne of the "lord of all" in the temple of Ekurigigal, that he was killed by the sword, and that he was buried in the palace of the ancient hero Sargon.<sup>1</sup> His place was taken by the usurper Ea mukin zer, a "son" of Hashmar, the eponymous ancestor of the Elamite tribe which later played so large a part in history. He ruled but three months<sup>2</sup> and was buried in the swamp of Bit Hashmar. The third and last monarch of the dynasty, Kashshu nadin ahe, represents a third family, that of Sippai. "During the distress and famine" of his reign, the stated offerings to the Shamash temple ceased and the drink offerings fell into disuse. Three years of this distress (1017-1014) were sufficient to kill him and cause his burial in the palace.<sup>3</sup>

The Sixth Dynasty came from Bit Bazi. Under its first representative, Eulmash shakin shum, a gleam of prosperity came to the Sippar temple with the re-establishment of offerings to the god,<sup>4</sup> but the procession of Bel did not take place in the fifth and fourteenth years<sup>5</sup> because of the disturbed state of the country. His fifteen-year reign (1014-999) was later remembered only for the prodigies and the cessation of worship they portended. In the religious chronicle in which these are collected, we read "In the month of Airu (May), on the eleventh day, the king arrived, and the young beasts for the going forth of Bel he slaughtered. The offerings and the vessels for the god, which up to the day of Akitu (The New Year's Feast) they had received, four days in Esagila and the temple of the gods as was fitting they offered. Until the day of the offerings, the king did not pour out a libation, the

<sup>1</sup> Nabu apal iddina ins., I, 13 ff.; *Chron. A*, G. Smith, *TSA*, III, 371 ff.; Winckler, *Untersuch.*, p. 153; *KB*, II, 272 ff.; King, *Chron.*, II, 46 ff.; 143 ff.; Toffteen, *Chronology*, 44 ff. New Chronicle, King, *Chron.*, II., 57 ff.; 147 ff. Document of year XII, Smith, *TSA*, I, 65. The King list gives him eighteen years.

<sup>2</sup> Five months, King list.

<sup>3</sup> Nabu apal iddina ins., I, 24 ff.; *Chron.*, A, where a written total of twenty-three years instead of the expected total of twenty years, three months, is due to reading months as years. The King list gives twenty-one years, five months, for the dynasty.

<sup>4</sup> Nabu apal iddina ins., I, 29 ff.

<sup>5</sup> King, *Chron.*, II, 61 f.



*urigallu* priest poured the libation and administered the temple." In other words, the king was not in his place to perform his tasks at the appointed time, and it was necessary for the local official to act as his substitute.<sup>1</sup> "In the month Duuzu (July), on the west bank, a jackal couched and they slew him. In the next month, Abu, a dog did something in the gate of Ninib, in the doorway of E shag utu of the Physicians, and they caught him. In the month Tishritu (October), on the twenty-fifth day, a live leopard crossed the river and entered into the treasury of the temple E gishpa kalama. They slew him and took him up and carried him away. In the month Abu, the sixteenth day of the seventh year, two deer entered Babylon and they slew them. In the month Simanu (June), the twenty-sixth day of the seventh year, the day turned to night, and fire was seen in the midst of the heavens." It has been suggested that this is a solar eclipse and then the fire would be that around the corona, but the chronology would seem to prohibit this assumption. "In the month Ululu (September), the eleventh year, the water came within the encircling wall of the Lower Wall. In the thirteenth year, the fourteenth year, the fifteenth year, the three years after the floods, the chariot of Bel did not go forth from the third day of Adaru (March) to Nisanu (April). In Nisanu of the fifteenth year Bel went not forth. In Airu, the fifteenth day of the seventeenth year, at the outer wall of the Gate of Ninib, a wild beast lay in wait and they caught him. In Simanu, the fifteenth day of the seventeenth year, a lion went down from the Gate of Ishtar to the river, it entered Babylon, and on the left bank it killed two men." The scribe mentioned these facts because he considered them an evil portent; we give them because they speak of neglected shrines and of lapse of cultivation so great that wild beasts dared enter the very precincts of the city which were most inhabited. When the doors of one of the gates fell and killed a man, the fortifications can hardly have been in shape to repulse the enemy.<sup>2</sup>

As in the preceding dynasty, the first ruler was the only one to reign for any length of time. His successors, Ninib kudur usur

<sup>1</sup> Note how the *urigallu* is substitute for the king in Nabunaid-Cyrus Chron., II, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Religious Chronicle, King, Chron., II, 70 ff. Eulmash shakin shum appears on a kudurru of Marduk nadin ahe, dated in his twelfth year, Sayce, PSBA, XIX, 70 f.



(999-997) and Shil anum Shuqamuna, who like him are simply given as sons of Bazi, reigned but two years and three months respectively.<sup>1</sup> The Seventh Dynasty of the chronologers consisted of but a single king, Mar biti apal usur, the Elamite (997-991).<sup>2</sup>

The Eighth Dynasty began with Nabu mukin apal, whose thirty-six years (991-965) did much to restore the land to prosperity, so much so that he added to "King of Babylon" the more pretentious "King of Kishshati."<sup>3</sup> Yet there continued alarms from gods and men alike, from the raiding Aramaeans and from prodigies. "In Airu, a jackal couched and they slew him. In Airu, a deer, whose entrance into the city none had seen, they perceived in the Gate of My Lord, and they slew him. In Nisanu of the seventh year, the Aramaeans were hostile, so that the king did not go to Babylon and Nabu did not go out. In the month Nisanu of the eighth year of Nabu mukin apal, the king, the Aramaeans were hostile and they seized the Ferry Gate of the city of Kar bel matati, so that the king could not cross and neither Nabu nor Bel went forth. On the eve of the New Year's Feast, the offering was made according to the word of" somebody whose name has been lost. "In Nisanu of year nineteen of Nabu mukin apal, the king, the same thing occurred and the stated offering was made. In the month Duuzu of the sixteenth year, a lion whose entrance into the city none had seen, they perceived on the west bank in the eighth garden, and they slew him. In the twentieth year of Nabu mukin apal, the king, Bel went not forth, Nabu did not go, for nine years after in all, Bel went not forth and Nabu went not out. In the twenty-fourth year of Nabu mukin apal, the king, the favoring deity who is at the right side of the door of one of the shrines, they captured as he couched. A malignant deity of Nabu was seen in the sleeping chamber of Nabu, upon the statue of Nabu, in the midst of the flesh. In the month Shabatu (February), the twenty-first day, of the twenty-sixth year of Nabu mukin apal, the king, Adad thundered and evil flame was seen."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. A*, though the written total is twenty years, three months, which, curiously enough, is what we need for the previous dynasty. The *King list* gives for them seventeen years, three years, and three months.

<sup>2</sup> *King, Chron.*, II, 55, n. 2; 62, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Kudurru, Belser, *BA*, II, 171 ff.; Belser, *KB*, IV, 82 ff.; *King, Boundary Stones*, LXVII ff.; 51 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *King, Chron.*, II, 80 ff.



Nabu mukin apal was followed by two of his sons, a second Ninib kudur usur with perhaps twelve years (955-943) and Mar biti ahe iddina.<sup>1</sup> Shamash mudammiq was defeated by Adad nirari III of Assyria, and was then killed by Nabu shum ishkun who, however, likewise met defeat at Assyrian hands. His cities of Banbala and Bagdadu were plundered, complete alliance was enforced, and each married the daughter of the other.<sup>2</sup> Before Nabu shum ishkun I had ended his reign of at least thirteen years, he had suffered another passing raid from Tukulti Ninib.<sup>3</sup> Then he handed on his throne to his son Nabu apal iddina.

Nabu apal iddina is one of the best known rulers of the period, largely, though not entirely, because of the beautiful tablet to the sun god which we have more than once found occasion to quote.<sup>4</sup> He boasts himself the valiant hero, well fitted to rule, the bearer of a terrible bow, who overthrows the evil foe, the Sutū, whose sin was great, and the great lord Marduk granted him a righteous scepter to avenge Akkad, make habitable the cities, found shrines, sculpture

<sup>1</sup> They appear as king's sons in the charter of Nabu mukin apal; the second is brother of the first in the list, Weldner, *MVAG*, XX, 4, 4; cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *Klio*, XVI, 180; King, *Chron.*, II, 63, places Mar biti ahe iddina before Shamash mudammiq.

<sup>2</sup> Budge-King, *Annals*, I, lviii, give . . . ] banbala and Khudaḍdu as the cities taken. The first is Banbala, cf. *JAOS*, XXXVIII, 233, n. 53. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 206, already saw that the second must be Bagdadu, the ancestor of the modern Baghdad, but scholars generally have been as reluctant to accept this identification as they were of the so-called Ilat with Anat-Ana, cf. *JAOS*, XXXVIII, 241, note. The statement that Baghdad was founded by al Maṣṣūr, cf. Le Strange, *Baghdad under the Abbasid Caliphate*, *passim*, is no argument against the identification, for a Bagdath occurs in the Talmud, cf. Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, 360. Its earlier name seems to have been Eshsheb, Delitzsch, *loc. cit.*, and it is to this earlier city that we are to attribute the Hammurapi fragment discovered by Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 407 f. This was found at Gerara, four miles south of the modern city, and we have accordingly the usual phenomenon of an earlier site later removed a few miles. The name Bagdadu first appears in a boundary stone of Merodach-baladan I (1186-1173), *Del.* VI, pl. 9 f.; also in a Kashshite kudurru, *ibid.*, p. 46; and in the Michaux Stone, I R, 70, of the Fifth Dynasty. The last was found at Baghdad, yet Hommel, *Grundriss*, 252 ff., actually argues that Bagdadu is to be abandoned in favor of Hudadu and in this he has been followed by American scholars! An enormous drain and an embankment built with bricks bearing the name of the second Nebuchadnezzar is agreed to be *in situ*, Layard, *loc. cit.*; Rawlinson, *JRAS*, OS, XX, 477, n. 1; Banks, *Bismya*, 71 f. The headquarters of Nabopolassar, at the break-up of Assyria, were also at Bagdadu, Thompson, *Late Babylonian Letters*, 248.

<sup>3</sup> For details, cf. Olmstead, *JAOS*, XXXVIII, 212 ff.; in the new Babylonian Chronicle, King, *Chron.*, 64, Tiglath [Pileser should be corrected to Tukulti [Ninib, as is tacitly done by King, *Babylon*, 259, n. 3. The Nabu shum ukin is, however, an error of the scribe for Nabu shum ishkun.

<sup>4</sup> V R, 60 f.; Pinches-Budge, *PSBA*, VI, 179 ff.; Pinches, *TSBA*, VIII, 164 ff.; Jeremias, *BA*, I, 268 ff.; Pelsner, *KB*, III, 1, 174 ff.; Bruce, in Harper, *Literature*, 30 ff.; King, *Boundary Stones*, XCVIII ff.; 120 ff.; *First Steps*, pp. 29 ff.; *Babylon*, op. p. 260; Rassam, *Asshur*, op. p. 402; Rogers, *Parallels*, 509; *Hist.*, II, op. p. 193.



reliefs, preserve the statutes and ordinances, re-establish the stated offerings, and increase the free-will offerings. Likewise Shamash, who for many days had been angry and had averted his neck, now had mercy and turned his countenance. All this, and the history of the previous reigns as well, was but to introduce the greatest sign of the sun god's favor, the discovery on the west bank of the Euphrates of the clay model representing the deity, by the priest of Sippar and of the royal manner in which he was repaid. Otherwise, we know only of his war with Ashur nasir apal of Assyria.<sup>1</sup>

One of the first actions of Shalmaneser III after his accession was the striking of a treaty with Nabu apal iddina. Although euphemistically called a treaty of complete alliance, it in reality marked the subjugation of Babylonia to Assyrian control, and this subordination became perfectly evident when Shalmaneser marched south and in Babylon and Borsippa offered the sacrifices to Marduk and Nabu which only the suzerain of those cities might present.<sup>2</sup> In due time, Nabu apal iddina "stood upon his mountain" and his place was filled by the Assyrian nominee, Marduk zakir shum. The anti-Assyrian forces rallied around his younger brother, Marduk bel usate, who seized the upper half of Akkad, thus cutting off Marduk zakir shum from his overlord. Shalmaneser was only too glad to rescue his subordinate. At Zaban, still the frontier, he sacrificed to Adad, and then marched south against Daban, the capital of the rebel.<sup>3</sup> The first resistance was met at Me Turnat, the "waters" of the Turnat River, on the north bank of that stream.<sup>4</sup> After the reduction of the city, a second battle was contested before Gananate.<sup>5</sup> Victory declared for Shalmaneser, who shut up his opponent in the city, destroyed his crops, cut down his orchards,

<sup>1</sup> For details, cf. Olmstead, *JAOS*, XXXVIII, 240 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Synchr. Hist.*, III, 22; *MDOG*, XXVIII, 24 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Synchr. Hist.*, III, 29. Pelsner-Winckler read . . . -da-ban, but Daban is proved by Shamshi Adad, *Ann.*, IV, 41. Note how the common origin of the *Synchr. Hist.* and the official inscriptions is proved by the phrases *ittishu ibbalkit*, *malmalish izusu*, and *niraruti*, common to both.

<sup>4</sup> Location proved by fact that it was not crossed on this expedition, as well as by Shamshi Adad, *Ann.*, IV, 9, cf. Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 50. It was probably just north of the Hamrin Hills.

<sup>5</sup> Also in *Assyr. Chron.*, 771, 767; perhaps the Ganata of the Babylonian letter H. 468; located somewhere about the modern Delli 'Abbās, cf. Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 58.



and dammed up his canal. Gananate remained inviolate, and the campaign came to an end with the task but half completed.

To avoid the heats of the Babylonian summer, the advance was renewed in the beginning of the next April. Lahiru was stormed, and Marduk bel usate driven from Gananate "like a fox from his hole."<sup>1</sup> The fugitive hastened along the road to Elam, but in the mouth of the pass, at Arman, the modern Holwan, he was overtaken and put to death as a rebel.<sup>2</sup>

Freed from the rivalry of his brother, whom the official lists credited with a year's reign,<sup>3</sup> Marduk zakir shum had still to reckon with Shalmaneser who was in no haste to surrender the advantages he had won. As the acknowledged suzerain of Babylon, he sacrificed to Nergal of Kutu in his temple Ekur, then filled Babylon with his gifts and pure offerings to Marduk, and finally appeared in Borsippa where even more gracious treatment was accorded Nabu and his consort, their temple Ezida, and their inhabitants, who were banqueted, richly clothed, and presented with wondrous gifts. Having thus won over the priestly class and having learned that the gods looked graciously upon him and had heard his prayers, he determined to clear south Babylonia from the pest of Aramaean tribes which was bringing the land to ruin. The first to feel his heavy hand was the powerful Dakkuru tribe. Like their descendants in modern times, these wanderers possessed little mud castles where they deposited their scanty wealth in times of danger. Baqani was the first fort to be attacked, and with it went the flocks and herds which it protected. Under the inspection of a seated eunuch, a bowman of the bodyguard supervised the building of a pontoon bridge. Inflated skins were tied together, beams connected them with the shore, an

<sup>1</sup> Lahiru is reached before Gananate and no mention is made of crossing the Turnat, therefore it must lie farther up stream and on the right bank. It is a question whether this is the Lahiru of Elam, e.g., Sargon, *Ann.*, 281.

<sup>2</sup> As the Assyrians proceeded from Lahiru to Gananate and then to Mt. Iasubi and Arman, they were obviously going east, and these places are to be located above and not below Me Turnat as Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 50. The context shows Iasubi the country centering about Arman-Holwan, therefore it must be placed farther east than does Billerbeck, *loc. cit.* For Iashubu, Iasume, Iasubi, as a country in the letters, cf. H. 228; 245; 581. The parallel passage in the Bulls ins. 80, gives Halman for Arman, and so confirms Hommel's identification, *Gesch.*, p. 595, with Holwan. Note that this line has been omitted in Delitzsch's translation.

<sup>3</sup> Weidner, *MVAG*, XX, 4, 4; Marduk bel ushe(zib), New Bab. Chron., *Kling. Chron.*, II, 65.



earthen causeway was heaped up on either side. The superstructure was formed of stones, brush, and clay, carried by soldiers with swords at their sides, ready to repel a sudden attack. The enemy were not far away, for the bowmen were still shooting in their direction. Once the chariot horses had been led across the shaky bridge, the Assyrians were under the walls of Ensudi,<sup>1</sup> a small double-walled fort with two gates, situated on a fair-sized artificial mound by a stream and in a country filled with trees. The king dismounted soon after crossing the pontoon bridge to receive Adini, the Dakuru chief, a tall beardless youth. His nobles followed, in long fringed robes, while the higher officials were brave with their long square Assyrian beards. Tribesmen, clad only in short skirts and in their bare feet, brought bars and pigs of various metals and large and small kettles to the edge of the stream, where they were transferred to two small flat-bottomed boats, laden with bales of goods, and steered by a rude oar while naked men dragged it along. Already a tray filled with ivories and the skin of a wild beast had been landed and was ready for presentation to the conqueror.

From his camp, Shalmaneser passed over another pontoon bridge and approached a town surrounded by double walls, each with two gates. This was the abode of Iakini, king of the Sea Lands, a man with pointed beard and long fringed robe. His present lack of importance was emphasized by his following of but two servants, one bearing a small kettle and leading two calves, the other with a jug and a lamb under his arm. No one might guess that he was to give his name to a land and a race, which was to furnish the most redoubtable opponents to the later empire until it had gone down in ruin before it. At the same time, Shalmaneser received tribute from the chief of the Amukanu, Mushallim Marduk.<sup>2</sup> A grant of land given at Babylon in the beginning of the second year of Marduk

<sup>1</sup> Maspero, *Hist.*, III, 74, n. 1, identifies with Qal'at Sa'id of the modern map, but Sa'id is too common a name to be decisive. Thompson, *Late Bab. Letters*, p. 74, shows troops of Bit Dakuru in Babylon, and in 222 the lady who complains of a theft of dates is ordered "Go, tell it to the Dakuru," that is, get it back from the Arabs who carried it off.

<sup>2</sup> A full account of the Babylonian expeditions in the extracts from the second edition of the *Annals* which are preserved in Balawat, IV, 1 ff.; cf. *MDOG*, XXXVI, 16; *Synchr. Hist.*, III, 22 ff. The Balawat Gate sculptures add many details. The form Ukani is given in Bulls 29, but Rasmussen seems to have detected sufficient traces of the first two syllables in the Balawat inscription to make sure that Amukani, the well-known later form, was read.



zakir shum shows the result of these expeditions. Uruk is now in his power, and one of its priestly hierarchy, Ibni Ishtar, the son of Hunzu'u, is given the house which had formerly belonged to Zabdiel, the "man" of Mushallim Marduk, the "son" of Amukanu. Doubtless this is to be connected in some way with punishment for Mushallim Marduk himself, but one of the witnesses is another "son" of Amukanu, Iddin Marduk, so that not all the tribe were in disgrace.<sup>1</sup>

Marduk zakir shum paid his price for this southern extension of his kingdom. Ten years later, we find governors in the provinces of Ahi Suhina and Arrapha, south of the Lower Zab, a truly important addition to the territory administered directly by the Assyrians. In the year 834, "the great god went forth from the city of Der," and thus afforded full proof that the Assyrians considered themselves rightful rulers of northeast Babylonia.<sup>2</sup>

The death of Shalmaneser in 825 found Assyria in the throes of a great uprising, and the situation of Shamshi Adad was most precarious. His rebel brother, Ashur dan apal, had secured the aid of the Aramaeans,<sup>3</sup> the only available resource for Shamshi Adad was Babylonia. Marduk zakir shum had not forgotten the humiliation of a few years back, and Shamshi Adad purchased his assistance only by a treaty of a still more humiliating nature. Akkad is placed before Ashur, Marduk zakir shum alone bears the title of king, the oaths are in the name of Babylonian gods, beginning with Marduk. Babylonian troops are promised, but at a price. "If Shamshi Adad hearkens to the wicked word of Marduk rimani, he shall say to the king 'Kill, destroy, make captive.' Marduk zakir shum, the king, hearkened to him. His land is not, our booty shall they bring back and give up, the fugitives shall be seized, the king will give judgment upon him. Whoso shall sin and take for himself the dues (*ilku*) which pertain not to him, may Marduk" and a long list of Babylonian gods "destroy his kingdom."<sup>4</sup>

For two years after his accession, Shamshi Adad was engaged in stamping out the last embers of revolt, then came the winning back

<sup>1</sup> Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, XVI, 117 ff.; lapislazuli Marduk, dedicated to Esagila, Koldewey, *Babylon*, p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> Assyri. Chron.; cf. Olmstead, *JAOs*, XXXIV, 344 ff.

<sup>3</sup> H. 872, copy of letter "concerning the rebel" and written in Aramaic by Kabti, scribe of Ashur dan apal, cf. Johns, *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, VI, 630.

<sup>4</sup> Peiser, *MVAG*, 1908, 6, 14 ff.



of the provinces, and it was not until June of 821 that he was ready to test the validity of oaths extorted by force of necessity. Marduk zakir shum had just died and his son, Marduk balatsu iqbi, had taken his place.<sup>1</sup> The Babylonian frontier was now at Zaddi,<sup>2</sup> but a short distance south of the Lower Zab. The direct route into Babylonia was therefore blocked by enemy garrisons, but the road farther east along the mountain slopes was passable and afforded an opportunity of outflanking the enemy. Pausing only long enough to kill three lions on Mount Ebih,<sup>3</sup> Shamshi Adad crossed the range and occupied Me Turnat. The inhabitants, with their goods and gods, were carried off to be reckoned Assyrian citizens, our earliest certain example of deportation. The passage of the river at its flood brought the army to Qarne<sup>4</sup> and the crossing of the Ialman Mountains to Dibina, Datebir, and Izduia, cities near Gananate. With these went four hundred other "cities" whose size we can conjecture when we note that, all told, they mustered just three hundred and thirty warriors! When the inhabitants saw the Assyrians destroying their palm groves, they fled to Kiribti alani, which was soon added to the list of captured towns. The Babylonian forces retired to the royal city of Dur Papsukal,<sup>5</sup> which lay on an island in the midst of the stream and so seemed a city of refuge to the four hundred and forty-seven cities placed on the map by the official "eye witness" of Shamshi Adad. Nevertheless, the Assyrians succeeded in capturing it, with a loss to the defenders estimated at thirteen thousand killed and three thousand prisoners. The resistance was vigorous, if we may accept the relative proportions in the casualties. The royal bed and the other palace furniture came into the possession of the Assyrians and so well satisfied was Shamshi Adad that he handed

<sup>1</sup> VS, I, 35, shows eleven years' rule for Marduk zakir shum; Marduk balatsu iqbi appears as crown prince in the kudurru of year II (850), Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, XVII, 117 ff. The New Babylonian Chronicle, King, *Chron.*, II, 65, reads "Against Marduk balatsu [iqbi] Marduk zakir shum."

<sup>2</sup> Shamshi Adad, *Ann.*, II, 10.

<sup>3</sup> In Broken Obl., IV, 15, Ebih is a mountain of Assyria where Tiglath Pileser hunted in the winter; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 204, connects with the god Ebih, III R, 66, I, 15 b; II, 4 f., 33b.

<sup>4</sup> Since Qarne is between the Turnat River and Ialman, the Hamrin Hills, which are here close together, it must be exactly located at Qyzyl Robat.

<sup>5</sup> With Billerbeck, *Suleimania*, 69, we must place Dur Papsukal more or less about Ba'quba.



the ordinary booty over to the common soldiers. Too late Marduk balatsu iqbi arrived at the scene with a relieving army, collected from the neighborhood, Chaldaeans, Aramaeans, Elamites, Hamrians, and took up his position on the river Daban at the entrance to Dur Papsukal. Here again Shamshi Adad claims the victory, describes the five thousand dead and the two thousand captive from the enemy, the hundred chariots, the two hundred cavalry, the royal tent and the bed—and then the narrative abruptly closes and we greatly deplore the lack of the Babylonian account to tell us what happened next.<sup>1</sup>

That all was not as Shamshi Adad would have us believe is made evident by the careful avoidance of Babylonia in the years immediately following. Renewed interest in the Babylonian problem began in 815 when the "Great God" went to Der; two years later, the land of the Chaldaeans was the object of Shamshi Adad's attention, and in 812 Babylon. The last campaign was fatal to Shamshi Adad.<sup>2</sup>

About the time that Marduk balatsu iqbi was succeeded in Babylonia by Bau ahe iddina, Adad nirari came into his own and began to look with longing eyes upon Babylonia, to which he had a more or less valid claim through the Babylonian birth of his mother Sammuramat, the prototype of the fabled Semiramis. Already in 796 and 795 we have expeditions against Der, but no serious attack was made until 786.<sup>3</sup> It was a matter of little difficulty to carry off Bau ahe iddina to an Assyrian captivity, and with him went all the treasures of his palace and the spoil of Der, Lahiru, Gananate, Dur Papsukal, Bit Riduti, and Me Turnat. More impressive was the spoil of gods, the "Great God" who went in procession to Der, Humhummu, Belit of Babylon, Belit of Akkad, Shimalia, Nergal, Annunitum, Mar biti of the city of Malki, all went forth into captivity. Thence Adad nirari continued to Kutu, Babylon, and Borsippa, where he made the pure offerings of a sovereign prince and the cities "supported the decrees of Bel, Nabu, and Nergal."<sup>4</sup> The kings of the Chaldaean land were devastating the settled country; their forays were checked for the time being by the strict measures

<sup>1</sup> Shamshi Adad, *Ann.*, III, 70 ff.; cf. *Synchr. Hist.*, III, 42 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Assyr. Chron.*

<sup>3</sup> *Assyr. Chron.*

<sup>4</sup> Kalah Slab. 23 f.



taken by the Assyrians, the infliction of a regular tribute, and the surrender of the citizens they had enslaved. The men of Assyria were allied with those of Kar Duniash and a new boundary was delimited.<sup>1</sup> The next year, the "Great God" went in due state to Der.<sup>2</sup>

Two kings, Marduk bel (usate?) and Marduk apal (iddina?),<sup>3</sup> seem to have been dependent upon the Assyrians.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps they belong in the period where we have Ashur dan listing expeditions against Gananate in 771 and in 767.<sup>5</sup> For two years there was no king in the land and then Erba Marduk, the son of Marduk shakin shum, seized the hand of Bel and of the son of Bel and thus became rightful king in Babylon. In his reign, the Aramaeans in Shigiltu and Subartu settled in the fields belonging to the citizens of Babylon and Borsippa, a sad witness to the weakness of the government when even the suburbs of the capital were not safe, but Erba Marduk defeated them and gave the lands back to their rightful owners.<sup>6</sup>

The second Nabu shum ishkun (760-747) brings us back to history with two documents which afford an instructive view of the prevailing disorders. One is a grant of sustenance by Nana and Mar biti from the revenues of Ezida in Borsippa. The individual thus favored bears a Nabu name even as does the king under whom the grant is made, but the fact that Nabu mutakkil is called a "son" of Ashur, that is, he is an Assyrian, awakens suspicions which are not quieted when we find the list of witnesses headed by Nabu shum imbi, likewise a "son" of Ashur, though he is *erib biti* of Nabu and *shakin temi* of Borsippa, and including Nabu ushabshi, "son" of Ashur, *erib biti* of Nabu, Nabu useppi, "son" of Ashur, priest of Adad, and a homonym of the king, Nabu shum ishkun, "son" of Ashur, *erib biti* of Nabu. The presence of so many Assyrians in the "priestly college" of Nabu in Borsippa proves without doubt a considerable amount of Assyrianization, however we may explain it in detail.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Synchr. Hist., IV, 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Assy. Chron.

<sup>3</sup> Weidner, *M V AG*, XX, 4, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, *Klio*, XVI, 184.

<sup>5</sup> Assy. Chron.

<sup>6</sup> King, *Chron.*, II, 66 f., cf. the duck weight, Norris, *JRAS*, XVI, Winckler, *Untersuch.*, 32.

<sup>7</sup> *VS*, I, 36; Schell, *RT*, XX, 205 ff.; Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, XVI, 141; tablet of year XIII, Clay, *Business Transactions*, No. 3.



In the other, Nabu shum ishkun is called "son of Dakuru" which means that the roving Aramaean tribe of less than a century ago now has its chieftain on the throne of the ancient city. His rule can have been merely nominal, for the writer is the same Assyrian Nabu shum imbi who heads the sacred college in the preceding inscription. Here he is *nisakku*, *erib biti* of Nabu, and mayor of the city of Borsippa. He "fears the great godhead" of Nabu and stands before him, he rebuilds Nabu's temple of Ezida as any king of old, and we sense the royal formula under the statement "which from ancient days, before my time, no *nindatub* or *qepu* had undertaken." Nabu shum imbi is king of his little state in all but name.

Before he could finish the work which had been ordered him by Nabu, lord of lands—and here we fairly gasp for this appellation belongs of right alone to Marduk, lord of the suzerain Babylon—there arose a state of anarchy. The men of Babylon, Borsippa, Dushulti on the banks of the Euphrates, the Chaldeans, the Aramaeans, the men of Dilbat, for long contended with one another. The men of Borsippa saw their lands devastated in this civil strife. Then up rose Nabu shum iddina, whose father Dannu Nabu had once held that office of *erib biti* which Nabu shum imbi had usurped, and asserted his ancestral claim. The heart of Borsippa, the Ezida temple, fell into his hands, whereupon he assailed the house of Nabu shum imbi by night. The only defense known to Nabu shum imbi was prayer to Nabu, but the citizens of Borsippa were more warlike. All night long they stood with their bows and lances about the house and in the morning Nabu shum imbi was safe and ready to ascribe his salvation to the city god.<sup>1</sup>

The year 747 marks the beginning of a new era, that of Nabu nasir. The native Chronicle and the so-called Ptolemaic Canon of Rulers alike date their commencement from his reign, though the reason is unknown. The next year saw the enthronement in Assyria of Tiglath Pileser IV, whose support against the tribesmen and the rulers of the cities round about Nabu nasir was only too glad to purchase by submission, could but the shadow of rule be saved for himself. So it was with the alluring prospect of being welcomed as a deliverer by the propertied classes that Tiglath Pileser set forth upon

<sup>1</sup> Winckler, *Forsch.*, I, 254 ff.



the enterprise which was to inaugurate his reign with cheaply bought laurels.<sup>1</sup>

A few days' march east of the Tigris brought the Assyrians to the first Aramaean outpost, Til Kamri, which men call Humut, where there had come together a great coalition of tribesmen, the Itu, Rubu, Hindiru, Rua, the Hamrani who gave their name to the modern Hamrin Hills, on the southern border of Assyria, the Nabatu, ancestors of the Nabataeans of Roman days, the Kipre, from whom was to be called one of the most important centers in present times, the Bagdadu or men of Baghdad, the Ubulu, long after connected with the great Arab city which preceded Basra, the Hagaranu or children of Hagar, and many a tribe of less significance.<sup>2</sup> The river which protected the allied front was crossed on rafts and a huge quantity of cattle fell into the hands of the conquerors. News of the victory soon reached Babylon, whereupon Nabu nasir ordered one of his subordinates, the *erib biti* of Esagila and Ezida, to present the ceremonial gifts from Bel, Nabu, and Nergal to their new representative. Tiglath Pileser decorated the embassy and sent them home to herald the royal approach.

The first opportunity was seized to make it apparent that a new policy was to obtain in the administration of dependent states. Over against the rebel city of Til Kamri, an entirely new settlement was established, Assyrian from foundation to coping, Kar Ashur, the Wall of Ashur. A palace was constructed within, the cult of Ashur was ordained, and a little later it was garrisoned by the "men of the lands, the booty of my hands," thereafter to be considered native Assyrians subject to tax and gift.

The triumphal march continued through north Babylonia. All the old-time centers, Sippar, Kutu, Kish, and Babylon, opened their doors, and their Assyrian savior offered his ritually pure sacrifices and set up his dedications in these "cities without parallel." There yet remained the eastern border, along the banks of the Surappu and Uknu rivers to the seacoast, where the Aramaeans had collected in force; the whole of the settlements were reduced and

<sup>1</sup> For detailed sketch of the reign, cf. A. S. Anspacher, *Tiglath Pileser III*, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> Other tribes were Luhuat, Harlu, Rubbu, Rapiqu, Hiranu, Rablu, Nasru, Gulusu, Rahiqu, Ka . . . . , Rummulushu, Adile, Ubulu, Gurumu, Damunu, Dunanu, Nilqu, Rade, Da . . . . , Karma', Amlatu, Qabi', Li'tau, Marusu, Amatu.



the natives "made to use one tongue." Five administrative districts were formed, to be attached to the provinces of the turtanu, the chamberlain, the chief musician, and the governors of Barhazia and Mazamua, respectively. As indemnity, the natives were ordered to surrender a tenth of their cattle, ten talents of gold by the greater standard, and a thousand talents of silver. For capital of this newly incorporated territory, he founded another city, Dur Tukulti apal esharra, and the captives settled in his "Wall" were commanded to worship the royal image which his lord Ashur had ordered him to set up "as a sign of victory and might" at the same time they paid their due to that lord himself. Operations came to an end with visits to Nippur and Uruk where the gods were likewise thanked for this triumphal inauguration of the reign.<sup>1</sup>

Until the close of his reign, Tiglath Pileser left Babylonia to its own devices. Nabu nasir remained the nominal ruler, and in far-away Uruk men dated by his fifth year as they restored an ancient festival whose very name had been forgotten and the lines of the edifices concerned were likewise no longer remembered. King, resident, and noble alike promised aid, and so the lady Usur amatsu enjoyed a new abode.<sup>2</sup> How little Nabu nasir excelled his predecessors in power is rather indicated by the fact that Borsippa again separated herself from her suzerain and became an independent city state within sight of her former mistress. Nabu nasir was not content to allow Borsippa to go by default, but the result of his effort is not known, for, as the author of the Babylonian Chronicle sadly confesses, "the battle which Nabu nasir waged against Borsippa is not recorded."<sup>3</sup>

Fourteen years did Nabu nasir rule, in quiet if not with power. Presently he fell sick and died in his palace, and his place was filled by his son, Nabu nadin zer (733). His reign was brought to a sudden close by a revolt, led by the provincial governor, Nabu

<sup>1</sup> Tiglath Pileser, *Ann.*, 1 ff.; *Clay Ins.*, 5 ff.; Slab, 4 ff. The Bab. Chron., I, 3 ff., gives the plunder of Rabbilu and Hamranu and the captivity of the gods of the city of Shapazza. For the date 745, cf. *Assyr. Chron.* For location of Dur Tukulti apal esharra at Eski Kifri, cf. Olmstead, *JAOS*, XXXVIII, 234 n.

<sup>2</sup> Nies-Kelser, *Bab. Ins.*, II, No. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Bab. Chron., I, 6 ff.



shum ukin.<sup>1</sup> After a little more than a month, he too was destroyed, and the Ninth Dynasty came to an inglorious end (732).

The new pretender was a chief of the Amukanu tribe, Nabu mukin zer, or, as he was more commonly called, Ukinzer. As such, he was definitely Aramaean, and there is considerable significance in the fact that from his reign we have the first use of Aramaic as an explanatory note to the cuneiform Babylonian which was still the one legal language in which business transactions could be witnessed.<sup>2</sup> Already Shalmaneser III had known the menace of the Amukanu and there was serious danger to Assyria in a Babylonia united under a strong, half-savage ruler. So in 731 the Assyrian armies were once more marching along the old route east of the Tigris. The Puqudu, the most important tribe of this section, were cast down as with a net, then was taken Lahiru of Idibirina, the form into which the Aramaeans had corrupted the older Iatbur, as well as Hilimmu and Pillutu along the Elamite frontier. The province of Arrapha was the chief beneficiary of these new acquisitions. The Lubdudu were deported to Assyria, and the Chaldaean land, throughout its whole extent, was overthrown as with a bird net. Nabu ushabshi, the son of Shilani, met defeat under the walls of his capital, and was impaled before the city gate. Sarrahanu was won by means of earthworks and battering rams, fifty-five thousand of its inhabitants were taken prisoners—did this town of half-nomads in reality have one-tenth that number?—and the surrounding cities were reduced to plowland. Similar treatment was meted out to the cities of Tarbasu and Iaballa, with their thirty thousand captives. Zaqiru, the son of Shaalli, was a more serious offender, for he had violated the "oath of the great gods," wherefore he and his nobles were carried in chains to Assyria, there to await more terrible punishment. Their fortress was stormed with mines and rams and razed to the ground. The number of captives is given as 50,400, and experience with cases where we have variants justifies us in believing that the actual number was four hundred, which is not

<sup>1</sup> So Bab. Chron.; the King lists make him the son of his predecessor. King. Chron., II, 64, indicates relations with Tiglath Pileser, but this is an error for Tukulti Ninib, cf. above.

<sup>2</sup> Clay, *Business Transactions*, No. 22.



much more than we should expect. Amlilatu, their chief city, fell an easy prey, and the land of Bit Shaalli was devastated as by the hurricane.

All this was preliminary to an attack upon the *de facto* king of Babylon, Ukinzer, now confined within his royal city of Sapea. The first skirmish was won by the invaders, and the palms in the level country round about were cut down and the ripe fruit scattered over the field. But the victory was not decisive and the siege dragged on. While encamped before Sapea, there arrived embassies of unusual interest, though for quite different reasons. One came from Balasu, chief of the Dakkuri, and though he was not, like his ancestor, counted a king of Babylon, he was destined, as Belesys, the Chaldaean priest who assisted the Median Arbaces to overthrow the first Assyrian empire, to a long immortality among those who read Greek.<sup>1</sup>

Along with this insignificant prototype of the classical hero came Nadinu, another Aramaean who had settled at Larak, an old city on the Lower Tigris, abandoned for so many centuries that its ruined mound was in popular fancy supposed to represent a city which dated from before the days of the great flood. Much more important in actual history was Marduk apal iddina, the "son" of that Iakin who had paid tribute to Shalmaneser III, the king of the Sea Lands, who had never come before any of the kings his fathers (!) and kissed their feet, for he was the Merodach-baladan of our sacred books and the future king of Babylon. His exceptional position was well shown by his tribute, gold, the "dust of his land," golden vessels and necklaces, precious stones, the product of the seas, probably the pearls for which in every age the Persian Gulf has been famous, beams of ebony and *ellutu* wood, colored cloths, spices, live stock, we know that no petty chieftain could possess such wealth. The very recital of the "tribute" shows how much stronger was Merodach-baladan than Tiglath Pileser would admit; it was too magnificent for any but quasi-royal personages, and it may be that Merodach-baladan looked upon them as gifts from equal to equal.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ctesias, in *Diod.*, II, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Tablet, 13 ff.



The siege of Sapea was prolonged into the fourth year when Ukinzer's reign came to an end with his life. Tiglath Pileser thereupon came to a momentous decision, nothing less than the personal assumption of the crown of Babylon. The reasons for so doing were strong, the objections equally so.<sup>1</sup> On the first of Nisan, 729, he seized the hands of Bel and became king of Babylon in name as in fact. Whether to save the tender sensibilities of the Babylonians or because it was his own name before his accession, he was known to them as Pulu, whence has come the Pul of our Book of Kings.<sup>2</sup> A second time he seized the hands of Bel and then he died.<sup>3</sup> His son, Shalmaneser V, followed the Babylonian policy of his father and was known in Babylon as Ululu, the "man born in September." Once more patriots might delude themselves into believing that they were governed by a native prince.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For fuller discussion of these points, cf. Olmstead, "Assyrian Government of Dependencies," *Amer. Political Science Rev.*, XII, 73 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Bab. Chron.*, I, 23; II Kings 15:19.

<sup>3</sup> Reference to his coming to Babylon, in the letter K. 4740; Winckler, *Forsch.*, II, 24 ff.; business document of 5-11-1, Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, VI, 136. *Assyr. Chron.* says "in the land" for 730, but the capture of Ukinzer must come before the seizing of Bel's hand, 729, so Sapea must have been taken in 730.

<sup>4</sup> The reign of Sargon has been elaborately discussed by Olmstead, *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon of Assyria*, 1908. In spite of the lapse of twelve years, practically nothing is to be added to the narrative of the Babylonian events. The excavations at Babylon have given little, only the statement that Sargon founded Imgur Bel and Nimitil Bel, the two great city walls of Babylon, and traces of the walls have actually been found which seem to date from his period, Koldewey, *Babylon*, 138. Two matters of topography may also deserve discussion. Objection was made, *Sargon*, 143 n., to the identification of Dur Iakin with Dorak. In reality, it is ad Dawraq, i.e., with g; the article shows it was understood as an Arabic word, a sort of water jar. It is found in Yaqut, s.v. and existed as late as 1701, Murtada Nazmi Zade, quoted Huart, *Baghdad*, 140, cf. 144. Sayce, *Expository Times*, XVIII, 234, makes Tilmun the part of Arabia southwest of Babylon, and Uperi a blunder of the scribe for the place Ophir. I find it difficult to disassociate Tylos and Tilmun-Tilwum. His interpretation of *Ann.* XIV, 25 f., as meaning that Bit Iakin extended to Tilmun is certainly an error of exegesis. What the scribe means to say is "I conquered from Cyprus to the Mediterranean, including all the lands from one end of the civilized world to the other, from Egypt, the extreme point on one side of the land, to Bit Iakin, on the other, even as far as Tilmun, which, the point most opposed to Cyprus, also lies in the sea."



## A MODERN METER OF EGYPTIAN-ARABIC VERSE

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Despite the exhortations of Western savants, colloquial Arabic cannot yet be said to be employed for literary purposes. The colloquial only reaches print in the comic papers, which cannot be called literature. In these papers poems of a sort are frequent, most of them purely comic and frivolous. But, as *satire* is sometimes a serious affair, it happens that some of the satirical odes which appear in such papers come nearer to being serious and literary than anything else that is written in the colloquial.

A specimen of these odes is given below, because of two points of philological interest which emerge from it.

1. The first point is that the meter, though not precisely identical with any other classical meters, is perfectly regular, and bears a strong resemblance to the classical meter called *sarīc*:—*mustaf<sup>c</sup>ilun*, *mustaf<sup>c</sup>ilun*, *fā<sup>c</sup>ilun* in both hemistichs. Indeed, if *fā<sup>c</sup>ilun* were replaced by *fa<sup>c</sup>lun* in the second hemistich we should have a true *sarīc*.<sup>1</sup> The meter of our ode may be diagrammatized as follows:

$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \approx & - & - & - & \approx & - & - & - \\ - & - & - & - & - & - & - & - \end{array}$ 
in both hemistichs.

The arrangement of the rhyme of its five-line stanzas is *a b a b c*, where *c* persists throughout the ode, while *a b* changes in each stanza.

2. But a more notable point is that the perfect regularity of the meter depends upon its being read *precisely according to the laws of elision, etc., which govern Egyptian colloquial speech*. It comes as a wonderful vindication of the assertions of western writers on Egyptian colloquial with respect to these laws, especially as they have been recently elaborated in the writer's *Egyptian Colloquial Arabic* (pp. 36, 37); to find that these verses can only be scanned when these deduced laws are applied with the utmost completeness. No more satisfactory or complete vindication can be imagined of the assertion

<sup>1</sup> Except that the alternative  $\sim$  in the first syllable of the second and third feet would not be permissible. Another way to regard this meter would be as a sort of *ragaz*.



that Egyptians, when they speak, do in fact speak according to these laws. Among the principles thus consistently carried out<sup>1</sup> are: (a) the dropping of final vowels except where a word ends in two consonants; (b) the insertion of a passing vowel when a word ends in two consonants, e.g., *hamm*<sup>i</sup> (l. 4); (c) the elision of short, unaccented, open *i* or *u* when preceded by an open syllable, e.g., *kidbu* for *kidibu* (l. 60), *mihāmi bla-na* for *mihāmi bita-na* (l. 61); (d) the shortening of a naturally long syllable before two consonants, when *i* has been elided for the reason just mentioned, e.g., *ḥafz* (*ḥāfiz* > *ḥāfz*) (l. 62); and generally, e.g., *rasūl* for *rasūl* (l. 2); (e) practical abolition of *hamzatu l qatʿ*, e.g., *w umm is surur* for *wūmm* (l. 8); (f) the loss of length through the loss of accent, e.g., *goz* for *gōz* (l. 41), and *dayrni* for *dāyirni* (in the same line); (g) the restoration of length when accent is restored, e.g., *wafā li* (l. 7), where but for the enclitic *li* we should have *wāfa*.

The very fact that the Egyptians are unconscious of this regularity is only an additional proof that these matters are the essence of the colloquial language, not accidents of it, and are therefore obligatory and not optional to whoso desires to speak that language well.

The few exceptions to the above general statement are clearly only the momentary influence of the literary language.

Specimen of the scansion:

Āhlān wī sāh | lān yā bāshī | r-il ḥānā ||

<sup>1</sup> Naturally it is the meter, not the *character* that proves this, for the poem is printed in unvoweled Arabic. A hint, however, is every now and then dropped by the Arabic characters themselves, e.g., ف for في. l. 26.



## SA'DAK' ZAHAR, YA MAŞR', FIL MU'TAMAR

- 1 Ahlan wi sahlan, ya bashîr il hanâ,  
 Rasûl habîbi illi samaḥ bil wişâl!  
 ʔArêt "ʔalam nashrah?" wi nult il munâ,  
 Wil hamm' zâl, wil ḥuzn' shâl il ʔizâl;  
 Balaght' ʔaşdi wil ʔazûl intaḥar.
- 6 Wāgib ʔalayya l yom awaffi n nudûr  
 Lamma wafâ li munyati bil wuʔûd;  
 W umm is surûr ʔala l ḥabâyib tidûr,  
 W aḥrah wi ṭâliʔ bakhti saʔd is suʔûd,  
 Wi muṭribi yghannî li "ʔunsak ḥadar!"
- 11 Mush ʔult' lak ya ʔalbi kullu yizûl,  
 Bën in nahâr wil lél yisawwa l ʔagab?  
 Mush ʔult' lak ya ʔalbi ʔusbur tinûl  
 ʔAşdak wi baʔd il ḥuzn' yîgi ṭ ṭarab?  
 Shûf il ʔagab min mudhishât il qadar!
- 16 ʔÂlu l ʔawâzil "ʔurbi ḥubbik biʔd,"  
 Lamma raʔû ghyâbu ʔan iṣ ṣabbi ṭâl;  
 Lamma raʔû shôʔi wi wagdi yizid:  
 Ma yiʔlamûsh il ḥâl dawâmu muḥâl?  
 Sêr il liyâli kullu ḥikma w ʔibar.
- 21 Tibât ʔalâ farsh il humûm wiṣ ṣiʔâm,  
 Wish shams' ṭiliʔ bish shifâ wis surûr!  
 Tibât fi khôf wiṣ ṣubḥ' yîgi b salâm,  
 Yîgi l farag min baʔd' dî iṣ ṣudûr!  
 La budd' ma ynûl il murâm min ṣabar.
- 26 ʔÂlu "l ʔagab! ʔin nâs tishûfu f Ragab!"  
 Kalâm saḥîḥ wi ṣid' min ghér kalâm!  
 Shufnâḥ wi zâl kull' l ʔagab bis sabab,  
 Haʔi kunna kullinâ fi manâm,  
 Tafsîru khalla kasr' khâṭri ngabar.
- 31 Rúḥ yâ ʔazûli kull' ʔôlak faḍûl,  
 Ahwâḥ wi jihwâni ḥabîb il fuʔâd!  
 Eh f j ʔtizârak baʔd' waṣlu tiʔûl?  
 Baʔd is subâd wil buʔd' tamm il murâd,  
 Tamm il murâd, ʔamma nta ʔufshur fashar!
- 36 Dayiʔtini w dayiʔtu, ʔamma saʔîl!  
 Fuḍḍak min il ʔôl il ʔariḍ iṭ ṭawîl!  
 Wi b tiddiʔ daʔwa wala lhash dalîl,  
 Tiʔûl tiʔd ; kullu kalam mistaḥîl!  
 Di daʔwa baṭla ʔand' ʔahl in naẓar.

<sup>1</sup> Saʔd, the name of Saʔd Pasha Zaghlûl, the Nationalist leader, means "Felicity."



## TRANSLATION

THY FELICITY HAS BEEN MANIFEST, O EGYPT, AT THE CONFERENCE

- 1 Welcome, right welcome, O Evangelist of happiness,  
 O messenger of my beloved, bringing consent to union!  
 I have recited "Hath He not expanded (thy breast)?" and have obtained  
 my desire;  
 Anxiety has gone, and grief has removed its furniture;  
 I have reached my object, and the Detested one has committed suicide.
- 6 I must this day perform my vows,  
 Since my desire has performed for me my promises,  
 And the Mother of Pleasure (wine) goes round among the friends,  
 And I rejoice and have drawn Sa'd of Gladness for my lot,  
 And my sweet singer sings to me "Thy joy has arrived!"
- 11 Did I not say to thee, my heart, Everything ceaseth,  
 Between morn and evening every mystery is explained?  
 Did I not say to thee, my heart, Have patience and thou shalt obtain  
 Thy purpose, and after grief cometh delight?  
 Behold, the mystery is among the marvels of Fate.
- 16 The Detested ones said, Far be the nearness of thy Love!  
 When they saw how his absence from love was prolonged,  
 When they saw my longing and my passion increase.  
 Do they not know that the perpetuation of a changing state is impossible?  
 The sequence of the evenings is itself a philosophy and instruction.
- 21 (For) you go to rest on the couch of sorrow and sickness,  
 And the sun rises with healing and with joy.  
 You go to rest in fear, and the morning comes with peace;  
 Relief cometh after compression of the breast.  
 He who waits patiently *must* obtain his desire.
- 26 They said, "A wonderful thing! 'Folk shall see it in Ragab.'"   
 True word! truth without dispute!  
 We *have* seen it, and the mystery has gone with that which caused it.  
 Verily we were all of us in a dream;  
 And its interpretation has caused my broken heart to be healed.
- 31 Go, O my Detested, all thy speech is superfluous,  
 I desire him, and he desires me,—the beloved of my heart.  
 What will you say to excuse yourself when we are united?  
 After wakefulness and separation, our desire is fulfilled.  
 Our desire is fulfilled; but as for you, drivel on!
- 36 You have annoyed me, you have annoyed him: oh wearisome!  
 Cease from talk so long and broad!  
 You pretend pretensions that have no proof;  
 You state, repeat,—and 'tis all impossible talk,  
 'Tis an empty claim in the judgment of the thoughtful.



- 41 Zaman goz\_ummi kán dayi'ni kitír,  
 Wi hiyya kánit minnu talba t̄ talā';  
 Wi kutt\_anā fil 'umr<sup>l</sup> lissa ṣaghír,  
 Wi kunna daiman fi nizá' wif khinā',  
 Wil 'ēsha kanit 'ēsha ghamm<sup>t</sup>\_w kadar.
- 46 Wi kan waṣī 'alayya ; 'āl ḥadritu,  
 "Gawāza wi\_ṣṣāya wi 'ēsha marār!  
 Wi zeyy<sup>l</sup> bēt il 'ankabút kilmitu,  
 Balláf yibargilna fi 'izz in nahār,  
 Wi 'ismu ma'rūf lil bulís wil ghafar.
- 51 Allāh la yiḥrimna min il munṣifín,  
 Illi yighíru 'al hu'ú' wish sharaf.  
 Ḥa'Pi inn\_Allah ma'a\_ṣ ṣābirín!  
 Ifraḥ ba'a\_w 'Id in nagaf ya nagaf,  
 W\_izim ba'a\_ṣ ṣabwát wi kull il 'itar!
- 56 'Aleh rafa'na da'wa fil mukhtalaṭ,  
 'Ashan himāya\_bta' dagal, maghrabí!  
 Kunna\_f minakfa wif 'awanṭa wi labaṭ,  
 Akhritha wi\_ḥyātak wi ha''in nabi,  
 Ma'ru wi talftu wi kidbu zahar.
- 61 Kān\_il miḥāmi\_bta'na fādíl nabíh,  
 Ḥafz il 'anūn, 'ustáz fi 'ilm il ḥu'ú';  
 Wi\_l 'ādi kán 'ādil wi ṭāhir nazíh  
 'An kull<sup>l</sup> 'ādi fin nazāha yifú'  
 • Ḥukmu li sāliḥna bi 'adlu ṣadar!
- 66 Kisibt\_anā w\_ummi l 'ādiyya, wi kán  
 Yóm 'Id wi ḥannūna gamí' il girān.  
 'Azūli, 'aḥki lak ḥikāya 'ashān,  
 Tifham ma'āniha bidún turgamān,—  
 Kaman la bud tikún simi't il khabar.
- 71 Biddi 'aqúl lak w\_inta 'ā'il labīb,  
 Il gadd<sup>l</sup> ghannā lu l hizār, ya zaríf!  
 Ya Miṣr<sup>l</sup> mā li shē khilāfik ḥabīb,  
 W illi yilumni\_f ḥubbi 'a'lu khafíf,  
 Sa'dik zahar ya Miṣr<sup>l</sup> fil mu'tamar.
- 76 Shukr\_il 'ilāh wāgīb 'alēna 'akíd,  
 Wil ḥamdu luh 'ala\_l gamí' farq<sup>l</sup> 'ēn.  
 Faḍlak wi gūdak yā Ḥamid ya Magíd,  
 Bil Muṣṭafā gadd\_il\_Ḥasan wil Ḥusēn  
 Ṭā-há\_t Tuhāmi\_l Hādi Sayyid Muḍar!



- 41 Long has my stepfather annoyed me utterly,  
 While my mother, too, was ever demanding divorce of him;  
 I was the while still a minor,  
 And we were continually in strife and quarreling,  
 And our life was a life of misery and trouble.
- 46 He was my guardian. Said that gentleman,  
 "I have the marrying of him, and the guarding of him, and his life shall  
 be bitter."  
 His speech is as the spider's web.  
 Sorcerer! he bespells me in full daylight;  
 And his name is known to the police, and to the night watchman.
- 51 May Allah not deprive us of the equitable,  
 Who have zeal for men's rights and honor!  
 Verily "Allah is with the patient!"  
 Rejoice therefore and light the chandeliers, my beauty,  
 And go, bid the gallants, the "bloods" one and all.
- 56 We have brought an action against him in the Mixed Tribunals,  
 For he is a protected subject—fraud! Westerner!  
 We kept arguing, and blustering, and talking,  
 And the end of it, by your life and the truth of the Prophet,  
 Was that his bluff and fraud and falsehood were made manifest.
- 61 Our Counsel was an excellent, intelligent man,  
 Learned in the law, a master of jurisprudence,  
 And the judge was just, clean, uncorrupt,  
 Surpassing all other judges in uncorruptness.  
 And, in his justice, his sentence was given for us.
- 66 My mother and I won the suit: it was  
 A day of festival; all the neighbors felicitated us.  
 O Detested one! I'll tell thee a story, so that you may  
 Understand its meaning without an interpreter,  
 Besides, you must have already heard its matter.
- 71 I want to tell you, and you are rational and sensible—  
 (Jest sings its song to Earnestness, my fine fellow)—  
 O Egypt, I have no other beloved save *thee*,  
 And whoso blames me for my love is a fool.  
 Thy Sa'd (felicity) has been manifest, O Egypt, at the Conference.
- 76 Thanks to Allah is assuredly our duty,  
 And praise to him is unconditionally incumbent on all.  
 Give us thy favor and thy grace, O Praiseworthy, O Glorious one,  
 Through Mustafa, the grandfather of Hassan and Hussein  
 Tā-Hē, the Man of Tuhām, the True Guide, the Lord of Modar.
- KHALEEL NAZEER



## سعدك ظهريا مصر في المؤتمر

اهلا وسهلا يا بشير الهنا رسول حبس الى سمع بالوصال  
 قرئت (ألم نشرح) دنلت المنى والهم زال والحزن شال العزال  
 بلغت قصدى والعذول انتحر  
 واجب على اليدم أدنى الندور لما دنى لي منيق بالعود  
 وام السرور على الحباب تدور وافرح وطالع بخي (سعد السعود)  
 ومطري يغنى لي انك حضر  
 من قلت لك يا قلبي كله يزول بين النهار والليل يسوى العجب  
 من قلت لك يا قلبي أصبر تنول قصدك وبعد الحزن يحى الطرب  
 شوف العجب من مد هشات القدر  
 قالوا العواذل قرب حبك بعيد لما رأوا غيابه عن الصب طال  
 لما رأوا شوق ووجدى يزيد ما يعلموش الحال دوامه محال  
 سير الليالى كله حكمه وعبر  
 تبات على فرش الهموم والسقام والشمس تطلع بالشفا والسرور  
 تبات فى خوف والصبح يحى بسلام يحى النرج من بعد ضيق الصدور  
 لا بد ما ينول المرام من صبر  
 قالوا العجب الناس تشوفه ف رجب كلام صحيح وصدق من غير كلام  
 شفته وزال كل العجب بالسبب حقيقى كنا كلنا فى منام  
 تفسير خلا كسر خاطرى انجبر  
 روح يا عذولى كل قولك فضل أهواه ويهوانى حبيب الفؤاد  
 إيه فى اعتذارك بعد وصله تقول بعد السهاد والبعد تم المراد  
 تم المراد أما انت أفش فشر  
 ضابقتنى وضابقتة أما ثقيل فضك من القول العريض الطويل  
 وبتدعى دعوى ولا لهاش دليل تقول تعيد كله كلام مستحيل  
 دى دعوى باطله عند اهل النظر



زمان جوز أى كان ضايقت كثير وهي كانت منه طالبة الطلاق  
 وكنت انا فى العمر لسه صغير وكنا دايمًا فى نزاع وف خناق  
 والعيشه كانت عيشة غم وكدر  
 وكان وصى على قال حضرته جوازہ ووصايہ وعيشه مرار  
 وزى بيت العنكبوت كلمته بلّاف يبرجلنا فى عز النهار  
 واسمه معروف للبليس والغفر  
 الله لا يحرمنا من المنصفين الى يغيروا ع الحقوق والشرف  
 حقيقى (ان الله مع الصابرين) افرج بقى وقيد الغيب يا (جف)  
 واعزم بقى الصبوات وكل العتر  
 عليه رفعت دعوى فى المختلط عشان حمايه بتاع دجل مغرب  
 كنا فى مناكنه وف أونطه ولبط آخرتها وحياتك وحق النبى  
 معره وتلفيقه وكذبه ظهر  
 كان المحامى بتاعنا فاضل نبيه حافظ القانون استاذ فى علم الحقوق  
 والقاضى كان عادل وظاهر نزيه عن كل فاضى فى النزاهة ينفوق  
 حكمه لصالحنا بعدله صدر  
 كسبت أنا وأمى القضيه وكان يوم عيد وهنونا جميع الجيران  
 عذولى أحكى لك حكايه عشلى تفهم معانيها بدون ترجمان  
 كمان لا بد تكون سمعت الخبر  
 بدى أقول لك وانت عاقل لبيب الجد غنى له الهزار يا ظريف  
 يا مصر ما ليش خلافاك حبيب والى يلومنى فى جبي عقله خفيف  
 سعدك ظهر يا مصر فى المؤتمر  
 شكر الاله واجب علينا أكيد والحمد له على الجميع فرض عمن  
 فضلك وجودك يا حميد يا مجيد بالمصطفى جد الحسن والحسين  
 طه التهامى الهادى سيد مضر  
 خليل نظير



## Critical Notes

### SOME TEXTUAL SUGGESTIONS

#### I. MIC. 2:12

In the Masoretic text, this verse reads:

אִם אִם יַעֲקֹב כָּלֹךְ  
קִבֵּץ אֶקְבֹּץ שְׂאִירֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
יָד אֲשִׁימָנָה כְּצֹאן בְּצֹרָה  
כְּעֹד בְּחוֹךְ הַחֲבֵרֹת תְּהִימָנָה מֵאֲדָם:

By reference to *ICC*, page 67, it may be seen that most scholars agree on two corrections, viz., (1) כָּלֹךְ in line 1, and (2) הַחֲבֵרֹת in the last line, the final ך being carried over to the following verb. Budde, in *ZAW*, XXXVIII (1920), 2ff., joins the number of those supporting the first reading, but modifies the second to the extent of substituting מְדִבֵּר for הַחֲבֵרֹת. *ICC*, page 67, also cites and accepts a suggestion, put forward by Wetzstein and followed by many scholars, to read בְּצֹרָה, i.e., "like a flock in the fold" instead of "like a flock of Bozrah." Haupt had already criticized this reading unfavorably; see *ICC*, in *loc.* Budde, *loc. cit.*, now reinforces Haupt's objection by refusing the new reading and retaining the received text. My own confidence in the Wetzstein reading has been shaken for some years.

I should now support the Masoretic text and treat יָד אֲשִׁימָנָה differently. The rendering in *ICC*, "together will I put them," carries over an English idiom into the Hebrew. I doubt if "put together" is the Hebrew equivalent for "assemble" or "collect" anywhere in the Old Testament. יָד is here better taken as having strong conjunctive force, e.g., "Moreover I will make them." This use of יָד is well attested, being quite common in the Book of Job, e.g., 3:18; 16:10; 19:12. "Bozrah" was probably noted for its sheep and goats. We know that the king of Moab sent large numbers of them into Israel every year in the time of Meša (II Kings 3:4). The regions east of the Jordan and in the Negeb have always been given over largely to the grazing of sheep and goats. There may have been a Bozrah breed even as today we have our Cotswolds, Southdowns, Merinos, and the like.

The greatest difficulty of the verse is, of course, in the last line, and particularly in the last two words. If the rendering of & be accepted,



viz., "they shall go forth," and if we reposit the last word **בְּאֶדֹם**, we get the satisfactory phrase, "and they shall go forth from Edom." If these two words be a part of the original verse, they give us a perfect parallel in "Edom" for the "Bozrah" of the preceding line. If they be a marginal note—as I am still inclined to think, notwithstanding Budde's skepticism—they were suggested by "Bozrah" and reflect the hatred of Edom so fiercely expressed in Isaiah, chapter 63, and Obadiah.

I offer this reading **בְּאֶדֹם** in the hope that it may suggest to some scholar an explanation of  $\mathfrak{E}$ 's *ἐξαλοῦνται* and  $\mathfrak{S}$ 's *concealed* that will lead to the discovery of the text that lay behind the present **תְּהַיִּמְנָה** of the Masoretic text which has not as yet been made intelligible.

## II. HAB. 2:17

The first two clauses of this verse run as follows in the Masoretic text:

כִּי חָמַס לִבְנוֹן יִכָּסֵּךְ  
וְשֹׁד בְּהַמּוֹת יִחַיֵּתֶן

The last word of the second line is quite generally corrected to **יִהְיֶה**, after  $\mathfrak{E}$  and  $\mathfrak{S}$ . But so far no objection has been made to the second word of the same line. Yet it is rather more considerate of animal life than we should expect a Hebrew of that age to be. Moreover, **שֹׁד** is hardly the word that we should expect to find in association with the hunting of beasts of the forests and mountains.

It has occurred to me that a slight change of text yields an admirable sense and removes all strangeness of idiom. Let us read **בְּחַמַּת**. The two lines then run:

For the violence (done) Lebanon shall cover thee,  
And the devastation of Hamath shall overwhelm thee.

This gives us two localities in juxtaposition each to the other and completely satisfies the requirements of the parallelism. The presence of the preposition before the construct is, of course, due to the need of closer definition of meaning, a need not so evident in the case of "Lebanon." It may be also that the balance of rhythm or metrical needs may have called for its insertion.

## III. EZEK. 20:39

This verse as it stands in the Masoretic text is obscure. It is translated by Toy, for example: "And as for you, O house of Israel, thus says the Lord Yahweh, go, let every man serve his idols! But afterward ye shall surely hear me, and ye shall no longer profane my sacred name through your gifts and your idols." Toy explains the "serve" as ironical; but this is rather forced. Further, the conversion of the phrase "if ye are not hearken-  
ing unto me" into an imperative, "ye shall surely hear me," is very difficult,



if not impossible. Cornill, on the basis of Gr's *ἐξάπαρε*, proposed *הַעֲבִירָה* for *עֲבָרָה*; this has been accepted by Siegfried, Bertholet, and others. I propose *אֶבְרָה* as an easier reading than *הַעֲבִירָה*. *אֶבֶר* in the sense of "destroy" is common in the pi'el; while *הַעֲבִירָה* is used in the weaker sense of "put away," "take away." In Zech. 13:2, *ἐξάπω* represents *אֶבְרָה* of the Masoretic text, but nowhere else is it so used. In Num. 33:52a, *וְאֶבְרָהִם* is translated by *ἐξάπειρε*, and in 33:52b, the same form is used for *וְהָאֶבְרָהִם*. In Isa. 26:14, *וְהָאֶבֶר* is rendered by *ῥες* (*ῥας*, B.a.b c.a. c.b A, Q, Γ). It seems therefore that *אֶבֶר* has a good claim to recognition in Ezek. 20:39. The following clause,

וְאַחֵר אִם אֵינְכֶם שֹׁמְעִים אֵלַי

still awaits solution. Hitzig's *יִשְׁכֶּם* (or *אִשְׁכֶּם*—cf. II Sam. 14:19; Mic. 6:10) for *אֵינְכֶם* is on the whole the best way out thus far offered. It is followed by Cornill and Bertholet.

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### ISIDORE IN JEWRY

It has often been remarked that Isidore has been a favorite name among the Jews, ever since the time of the Ptolemies, but no satisfactory answer has been given to the "why" which this fact provokes.

The fact is well established that in antiquity many Jews were in the habit of using two names: one, of Jewish origin, for use in Jewry; the other, Greek or Latin, for use among the Gentiles. "Saul, who is also Paul," Cephas and Peter, Jesus and Jason are among the many which might be cited.

We can understand any Jewish father calling his son Theodoros; it would be a Greek equivalent of Jehonathan. But why should a child be labeled "Gift of Isis"? Clearly for some ulterior reason. It is a plausible guess that Isidore is a *kinoui* for Jehonathan. The Greek form of *יְהוֹנָתָן* is either *Ἰω* (LXX) or *Ἰαω* (magical papyri). Isidore may well represent Iōdore, since the construction of Gentile equivalents of Hebrew names commonly follows the method of rhyme or preservation of the initial letter.

DOUGLAS HILARY CORLEY

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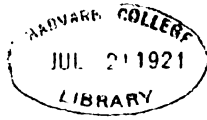
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The Editorial Board of the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* is called upon to announce the death of Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph.D., LL.D., on June 22. Professor Jastrow was Associate Editor of this *Journal* from 1907 until the time of his death.

An appreciation of the significance of Professor Jastrow's contributions to scientific scholarship will appear in the next issue of the *Journal*.

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## THE ELOHIST NARRATIVE IN EXODUS 3:1-15

BY JULIAN MORGENSTERN  
Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio

The third chapter of Exodus is interesting for many reasons, in general because of its far-reaching historical significance, and in particular because it contains the account of the theophany in the so-called "burning" bush and of the revelation of the supposedly divine name, *ʿehyeh ʾăšer ʿehyeh*, which have furnished so much occasion for speculation and critical acumen.

The chapter has been recognized by all biblical scholars as composite. Thus, verse 9 manifestly repeats the thought of verse 7. Moreover, the inconsequential use of both *יהוה* and *אלהים* for the deity, and particularly the sudden transition from one to the other, as, for example, in verse 4, as well as the easily recognized presence of other significant characteristics of the two sources, indicate that the chapter contains elements drawn from both the Elohist and Yahwist documents. Upon this practically all scholars are agreed.

But there is by no means absolute unanimity of opinion in the analysis of the chapter into its component sources, as the following table of analyses (p. 243), made by various biblical scholars since the appearance of Holzinger's tables,<sup>1</sup> will show. This table indicates that Bacon inaugurated a more detailed and searching analysis of the chapter than had been made previously and that the majority of scholars since have followed him in his main conclusions. It may be remarked in passing that of all these scholars, Harford alone assigns verse 15 to the main Elohist narrative and verse 14 to some other source. Likewise all these scholars, with the exception of Addis and Driver, whose analyses, however, are, as can be seen, very vague, assign verse 5 to J.

<sup>1</sup> *Einleitung in den Hezateuch* (1893), Appendix, 6, where the analyses of Dillmann, Kittel, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Jülicher, Cornill, and Driver, and preliminary analyses of Eduard Meyer and Bacon are given in tabular form.



Name	E	J	R
Addis*	1-3; 4b-6; 9-15	4a; 7-8	
Bacon†	1; 4b; 6; 9-14	2-4a; 5; 7-8	RD 8b; 15
Kautsch‡	13-14	1-12 JE	15
Driver	1-6; 9-15	7-8	
Holzinger¶	1; 4b; 6a; 9-12a; 13-14; 15b	2-4a; 5; 6b-7	RJE 8; 12b; 15a
Harford**	1; 4b; 6; 9b-13; 15	2-4a; 5; 7-9a; 14	14 (traces of RJE)
Baentsch††	1; 4b; 6; 9-14	2-4a; 5; 7-8a	RJE 8b; R 15
Procksch‡‡	1; 2b; (3b-4af); 4b; 6-14	2a; 2b; 3a; 5; 7-8a	
Meyer§§	1; 4b; 6; 9-14	2-4a; 5; 7-8‡	
Gressmann	1; 4b; 6; 9-14	2-4a; 5; 7-8	6a

\* *The Documents of the Hexateuch* (1892).

† *The Triple Tradition of the Exodus* (1894).

‡ Meyer and Gressmann regard v. 15 as the work of E2, and Gressmann regards vv. 9-13 as also the work of E2. Bacon, Baentsch, and Meyer regard מדין in v. 1 and מרחק הסנה in v. 4b as redactorial, while in addition Meyer would emend מארד of v. 8 to ירדתי or ירדתי.

§ *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*<sup>2</sup> (1896).

|| *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*<sup>2</sup> (1898).

¶ *Exodus*, in Marti's "Handkommentar" series (1900).

\*\* In Carpenter and Harford, *Introduction to the Hexateuch* (1902).

†† *Exodus*, in Nowack's "Handkommentar" series (1903).

‡‡ *Das nordhebräische Sagenbuch—Die Elohimquelle* (1906).

§§ *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (1906).

||| *Mose und seine Zeit* (1913).

Speaking for the present in a general way, we may unhesitatingly follow Bacon and his successors in assigning to the Elohist source verses 1; 4b; 6; 9-15. These verses exhibit numerous characteristic indications of Elohist authorship, such as the consistent use of אלהים for the deity; the designation of the father-in-law of Moses by the name of Jethro, whereas the Yahwist document calls him Reuel (2:18); the use of the name Horeb for the holy mountain, the double משה בן-משה in 4b; the motive of Moses hiding his face out of fear of looking upon the deity;<sup>1</sup> and the motive of the revelation for the first time of the divine name, Yahwe, to Moses on this occasion, whereas, according to J, the name Yahwe was known already to Abraham (Gen. 12:8) or even from the days of Sheth (Gen. 4:26).

On the other hand, verses 7 and 8 and also 16-22 with equal certainty belong to the Yahwist source. Characteristic thereof is the statement of verse 8 that Yahwe has come down to deliver

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my "Biblical Theophanies" in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XXV (1912), 168 and contrast the Yahwist statement that Yahwe actually appeared to Moses, 3:2, 16; 4:1, 5, and also the characteristic Yahwist motive that Moses could behold and speak to Yahwe face to face (Exod. 33:11; Num. 12:8).



Israel, with its implication that normally Yahwe dwells in heaven, or at least in some place on high (cf. Gen. 11:5; Exod. 19:18; 34:5), and also the description of the land of Canaan as "a land flowing with milk and honey,"<sup>1</sup> and the reference to the pre-Israelite nations of Palestine,<sup>2</sup> This same description of the land is repeated in verse 17, while in verses 16-22 we note the characteristic Yahwist motive that Moses could behold and speak to Yahwe face to face (cf. Exod. 33:11; Num. 12:8); the reference to the elders as the leaders of the people; the designation of Yahwe as the God of their fathers, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob;<sup>3</sup> the reference in verse 18 to the three days' journey into the wilderness (cf. Exod 5:3; 8:23); and likewise the motive of the despoiling of the Egyptians in verses 21 ff. (cf. Exod. 11:2; 12:35 f.).

Actually verses 16-22 merely forecast the Yahwist account of the future course of events in Egypt, and are rather bound up with the continuation of the narrative than an integral part of the account of the theophany itself. This is contained in verses 1-15. And in this narrative a moment's consideration shows that the basis of the account of the theophany is furnished by the Elohist, while the Yahwist has supplied only the secondary, amplificatory, and, in verses 7-8, duplicative material.

Our first task, therefore, is to analyze verses 1-6 and separate the secondary Yahwistic matter from the primary Elohist. That there is Yahwistic matter in these verses is proved by the sudden and violent transition from *Yahwe* to *Elohim* in verse 4. Certainly 4a belongs to J, and 4b, as said above, to E. Furthermore, 4a implies that something unusual, and even extraordinary, is to be seen, which

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Carpenter and Harford, *op. cit.*, p. 386, No. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 197.

<sup>3</sup> Only J could speak logically of Yahwe as the God of the Fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, since according to him alone Yahwe was truly and completely known by them under his right name. Since the Elohist represents this name, and therefore the true and full nature of Yahwe, according to fundamental Semitic religious conceptions, as being revealed to Moses, and through Moses to Israel, only now, he could scarcely have conceived of Yahwe as being in the full sense of the word the God of their ancestors, and have spoken of him as such. Moreover, as we shall see, the sequel of the Elohist tradition here is found in Exodus, chapters 18 ff., and implies that when Israel came to this mountain, as was foretold in v. 12 of this chapter, it entered into a covenant with Yahwe; in other words, according to the Elohist, the true and complete worship of Yahwe by Israel began only with Moses' and Israel's advent at Horeb. For this reason, too, the Elohist could hardly have called Yahwe the God of their fathers.



impels Moses to turn aside. What that is, is stated in 2*b* and 3. It is not merely the theophany of the deity in the bush, but rather the fact that the bush burns without being consumed. Certainly this is something sufficiently abnormal to warrant turning aside for further examination. Accordingly 4*a* implies as its necessary precedent 2*b* and 3, while 2*b* in turn implies 2*a*. Verses 2-4*a* then clearly belong to J, as is indicated also by the reference to the בִּלְאֵךְ יְהוָה in 2*a*.

Verse 4*b* then would be the direct continuation in the Elohist narrative of verse 1. And it is significant that not only is this connection most apposite, but also that the passage becomes fully intelligible only when verses 2-4*a* are eliminated from the basic Elohist narrative. The Yahwist insertion, verses 2-4*a*, coupled with the statement of verse 8, implies that the *mal'ak Yahwe*, or, as the original must have had it, Yahwe himself, had descended from his abode on high, in the form of a fiery apparition characteristic of J,<sup>1</sup> here specifically stated to be a לִבְתֹּאשׁ, a flame of fire, and momentarily entered into the bush only for this one particular theophany; but it does not in the least imply a constant and physical contact or relationship between Yahwe and this bush, that, in other words, Yahwe dwelt permanently in this bush, and that the bush was therefore constantly enveloped in fire, and yet not consumed.

Just the opposite is implied in the Elohist narrative. In the first place, this is not just *a* bush, any bush at all, that happened to be growing on the top of the mountain, but is in every case הַסִּבְחָה, "the bush," invariably with the article. The question immediately arises: "Why the article; what particular bush is this?" And the answer is promptly furnished by the expression סִבְחָה סִנֵּה, "the dweller in the bush," applied to Yahwe in Deut. 33:16, likewise, in all probability, just as the Elohist Code, the product of the Northern Kingdom, and therefore reflecting in all likelihood a northern conception of the original abode of Yahwe. There, it is true, סִנֵּה is used without the article. But it is clear that the expression does not mean that Yahwe dwells in any bush, or in any סִנֵּה, whatever it may have actually been, but in some particular סִנֵּה; that, in other

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my "Biblical Theophanies," *loc. cit.*, pp. 153-58.



words, סנה is here used as a proper name, equivalent to the הסנה with the article in Exodus, chapter 3.

From this it becomes clear that the Elohist author of the main narrative of Exodus, chapter 3, conceived of Yahwe as dwelling permanently in the סנה, just as is implied in the expression סכני סנה of Deut. 33:16. His connection with this bush is not casual and temporary, as the J writer conceived of it, but is normal and constant. He dwells in this bush permanently, and there he may always be found. Hence the article, הסנה, "the bush," the particular bush which is always distinguished by the presence of Yahwe in it; hence also the otherwise altogether meaningless and incomprehensible designation of this mountain upon which the bush stands, and upon which, therefore, Yahwe dwells, as the הר האלהים, "the mountain of God"; and hence, also, the fact that the ground immediately surrounding the bush is ארצת קדש, "holy" or "taboo ground," rendered so by the, not accidental and temporary, but constant, presence of Yahwe in its midst; therefore it must not be trodden with impunity or with shod feet. The prescribed ritual manner of approach to this sacred spot is with bare feet. The J motive of the chance and momentary presence of Yahwe in this bush would not account at all for the inviolate character of this spot, or, at least, it would not account for it nearly as well or as logically as does the E tradition of the constant and permanent residence of Yahwe in this place. This is, to use the ancient Arabic term, a *hima*, a spot sanctified by the residence of a deity within it.<sup>1</sup>

Accordingly it becomes clear that the original Elohist tradition knew nothing at all of the theophany in the *burning* bush. The "burning" element of this composite tradition comes from J alone,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 156 f. The peculiar, fragmentary legend recorded in Josh. 5:13-15 is undoubtedly closely related to this passage in Exodus 3. Practically all scholars are agreed that the present literary form of that passage is quite late, and is directly dependent upon Exod. 3:5. Because of the almost total absence of characteristic indications the great majority of the scholars refrain from any attempt to determine whether the passage is specifically from J or E, and content themselves with calling it JE. Holzinger (*Joshua*, p. 12) concludes, rather hesitatingly, however, that it is J, while Steuernagel (*Joshua*, p. 169) infers with equal hesitation that the passage comes from E. Kittel asserts far more positively that this passage is the work of E (*Geschichte Israels*<sup>1</sup>, I, 255). However, in view of the obvious and universally conceded dependence and lateness of the present literary form of the legend, the decision as to whether it comes from J or E can be of little or no significance for the solution of the problem of the authorship of Exod. 3:5.



and is altogether secondary. The original Elohist tradition told simply and naturally that Moses, herding the sheep of his father-in-law, comes purely by chance to a mountain on the western edge of the wilderness (אֶרֶץ הַמִּדְבָּר). There, suddenly and entirely unexpectedly, he hears a strange voice speaking to him from a bush upon the mountain, into the vicinity of which he had involuntarily strayed, and from the words uttered and the charge conveyed, he realizes that he has come into a *hima*, or sacred spot, and that in this bush a certain deity is dwelling; for this reason the ground around the bush is holy. Such was the simple and natural content of the original Elohist narrative. Accordingly verse 5, contrary to the opinion of all biblical scholars hitherto, must be unhesitatingly assigned to E.

But what deity was this? Certainly the story implies that previous to this he was entirely unknown to Moses. Who could he have been? Verse 6 in its present form states that he is the God of Moses' father,<sup>1</sup> the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. This representation is surprising and incongruous and manifestly not original. For, on the one hand, unless we emend the singular אֱלֹהִים to the plural אֱלֹהִים, we cannot regard the term אֱלֹהִים אַבְרָהָם as synonymous and appositional with אֱלֹהִים יִצְחָק as is the אֱלֹהִים אֲבֹתֵינוּ of verse 15 and of 4:5. This emendation would not be impossible nor even unnatural, since it would necessitate the insertion of but one single letter, one which might easily have fallen out of the original. But in such case it would follow that the whole of 6a is a J insertion, and this is improbable. For, to be complete, the E narrative must have contained the motive of the deity's telling Moses who he was, and just this is implied by the continuation of the narrative in 6b. Moses, suddenly made to realize through the words spoken to him that he is standing in the presence of a god, hides his face, for he does not dare look upon the face of a god. Obviously in the original E narrative the very first words of the deity to Moses had given a clear intimation of the divine source of the voice speaking from the bush.

But on the other hand, from the standpoint of the original E narrative, as we have seen it must have run, this deity with whom Moses now becomes acquainted for the first time could not be

<sup>1</sup> Note the singular אֱלֹהִים instead of the plural אֱלֹהִים, which was to be expected.



spoken of logically as the God of Moses' father, and therefore still less as the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Manifestly the original narrative, with its picture of the mountain of God, its *hima* or sacred territory, and its deity dwelling in the bush in the center of this *hima*, presents a conception of a local deity as pronounced and unmistakable as any in the Bible, or, for that matter, anywhere else in Semitic literature. This is a local deity pure and simple. He dwells in the bush upon this sacred mountain, and his power and authority radiate from there over a certain circle of territory. This mountain is located in the land of Midian,<sup>1</sup> upon the western edge of the desert. With this spot, and therefore with this local deity, neither Moses' father nor yet the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, had ever come into contact. Consequently, for this reason, too, as well as that stated above, the original E narrative could scarcely have designated this deity as the God of the patriarchs nor yet as the God of Moses' father.

How then did it specify him? The answer to this question is probably not far to seek. The expression **אלהי אברהם אלהי יצחק** we must, as has been stated, regard as Yahwistic. Since, according to J, the patriarchs knew Yahwe completely and worshiped him under his own name, Yahwist writers could speak consistently of Yahwe as the God of the patriarchs. The expression here is undoubtedly secondary, the work of the Yahwist editor. But how is it with **אלהיך**? The use of the singular here is striking. As has been said, the change to the plural will not fit the context, since the original narrative must have had here some simple statement, telling who this deity was; and the emendation to **אלהיך**, and construing this then as in apposition with what follows, would preclude the possibility of any such statement. Yet a moment's thought will show that the use of the singular here cannot be accidental, but must be purposed and significant. In all likelihood the original read, not **אלהיך**, but **התנך**, not "thy father," but "thy father-in-law."

The Yahwist narrative states very explicitly that the father-in-law of Moses was the **כהן מדין** (Exod. 2:16). The same expression is used in 3:1 in such a manner that we might, with a number of

<sup>1</sup> At least so the J narrative says (Exod. 2:15), and in this E seems to agree (cf. the discussion below of **כהן מדין**).



eminent scholars, regard it as a harmonistic, redactorial insertion, the work of a Yahwist editor. But far more probably the Elohist author, as well as the Yahwist, knew of the father-in-law of Moses as being a priest, and presumably, therefore, "the priest of Midian." As has been already intimated and as will be shown more conclusively later, Exodus, chapters 18 ff., furnish the sequel to this Elohist narrative begun in Exodus, chapter 3. There (v. 1) also Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, is called "the priest of Midian." Moreover, as 18:8-10 implies, Yahwe, the deity of this mountain, is from of old well known to Jethro. He and his tribe have, presumably, worshiped Yahwe as a desert deity for many generations. And now, when he learns from the lips of his son-in-law, with whose mission to Egypt at the command of this deity, he must have been perfectly acquainted, how Yahwe has prospered this mission, and, although far from his home upon this mountain, Yahwe has proved himself more than a mere local, desert deity, and has shown himself mightier than even the gods of the Egyptians, Jethro is filled with joy and pride, and in this new-found and incontrovertible evidence of the superiority of his deity to all other deities he exclaims: "Now I know that Yahwe is greater than all other gods." It is not the exclamation of a recent and enthusiastic convert to a new and hitherto unknown faith, but the proud and gratified utterance of an old and loyal devotee of this deity, who had unfailingly believed in the power of this deity, and regarded, or at least suspected, him as being something more than an ordinary desert god, and who now rejoices to find this faith confirmed completely and convincingly. These verses picture Jethro unmistakably as the original worshiper of Yahwe, and indicate that the meaning of the tradition in Exodus, chapter 3, is not that Moses was the first discoverer of this deity, but merely that this deity, worshiped from of old by Jethro and his tribe, now for the first time reveals himself in person, as it were, to Moses, the stranger and the representative of a strange people, and indicates thereby his willingness to become the deity and protector of this people and his choice of Moses to be the leader of this people and his representative, mediator, priest, and oracle-interpreter to this people. But naturally on this occasion when the people itself, through its elders, is for the first time brought into contact



with Yahwe here at his mountain, it is Jethro, his old worshiper and priest, who acts as master of ceremonies, presides over the sacrifice and ensuing meal, and initiates them thereby into covenant relationship with Yahwe.

Even more significant, on the very next day he advises and impliedly instructs Moses, obviously appointed, as has been said, by Yahwe to be his oracular priest for this new and larger body of worshipers, as to the technical procedure in regard to the consultation of the oracle of Yahwe. Just this last was the primary function of the כהן of a nomadic tribe, such as that into which Moses had married as represented in all sources. All this evidence can indicate only that the Elohist narrative, similar to the Yahwist, regarded Moses' father-in-law as being a priest, and, in all probability, "the priest of Midian," and furthermore as being in particular the oracular priest or כהן or כהן מידה (cf. II Chron. 15:3) of just the deity of this mountain.<sup>1</sup> From all this we may safely conclude, not only that כהן מדין in Exod. 3:1 is original and not redactorial, but also that verse 6 originally read simply and directly אנכי אלהי הרתך. For this הרתך, to which later national tradition—particularly when interpreted from the Yahwist assumption that Yahwe had been worshiped already by the patriarchs, and which likewise scarcely regarded the tribe of Moses' father-in-law as being in the truest sense an integral part of Israel or one of the thirteen original tribes—naturally took exception, some later Yahwist editor substituted אביך, the minimum change that could be conceived of, implying thereby that this was the god of Moses' father rather than of his father-in-law, and retaining very naturally the singular אביך for the original singular הרתך. And a still later Yahwist editor inserted, in conformity with Yahwist tradition, אלהי אברהם אלהי יצחק ואלהי יעקב, without, however, troubling himself to harmonize the resultant text by emending the singular אביך to the plural אבותיך.

The next matter of significance in the Elohist portion of Exodus, chapter 3, is the statement in verse 9 that God says that the cry of the children of Israel has come to him. This is not coupled with

<sup>1</sup> This, too, is the picture which the Kenite document in Exod. 33:14 and Num. 10:29-32 gives of Hobab, the חותן of Moses. In this older document, however, חותן is used in its older and more original meaning of "brother-in-law." The arguments which lead to this conclusion must be reserved for presentation elsewhere.



the expression עַמִּי and the consequent statement that the children of Israel were already his people, as is the case in the parallel Yahwist statement in verse 7. Similarly, the word עַמִּי is conspicuously absent in verses 11, 13, and 15, likewise, as we have seen, the work of the Elohist. The significance of this fact is plain. For just the same reason that the Yahwist document could speak of Yahwe as the god of the patriarchs, it could also speak of Israel as Yahwe's people. It had already told of the covenant entered into between Yahwe and the patriarchs, and that this covenant was to descend to their posterity (Gen. 12:2 f., 7; 13:14 ff.; 15:18; 28:13-15). But the Elohist had, as yet, recorded no such incident. According to him the relations of the deity to the patriarchs were not only incomplete in that Yahwe's true name had not yet been revealed to them, but likewise they were altogether personal and individual. In the original Elohist document thus far there has not been the slightest intimation of a covenant between Yahwe on the one hand and the patriarchs and their descendants on the other.<sup>1</sup> Nor could there have been; for a covenant implies perfect and unqualified relations and agreement without the slightest reservation on either side, such as the withholding from the patriarchs of the true name of the deity would have implied. In other words, the Elohist could not have told of a covenant between God and the patriarchs and Israel before this moment, and, per contra, the revelation of the divine name now is clearly preparatory to, or rather the first step in the process of, establishing a covenant between God and Israel. For this reason the Yahwist document, on the one hand, could speak very consistently of Israel as Yahwe's people, while the Elohist document could not yet do so. Therefore, in verses 9, 11, 13, and 15 the Elohist writer speaks consistently of the בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל alone, without designating them yet as Yahwe's people. For this reason עַמִּי in verse 10 must be regarded as a redactorial insertion of the Yahwist editor.<sup>2</sup>

Verse 12 has puzzled many commentators. They have asked, and seemingly with justification, What kind of sign is this which

<sup>1</sup> For the analysis of Genesis 15, with its record of God's promise to Abraham, and the comparatively late date of its composition, cf. Gunkel and Skinner to the passage.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly LXX reads τὸν λαόν μου = עַמִּי in v. 12 where M.T. reads more correctly הָעָם.



Yahwe now gives to Moses, viz., that after the people shall have come forth from Egypt, they shall worship him at this mountain? They have argued that 12*b* does not fit in with the thought of 12*a*; what Moses requires is not such a remote sign as this, the fulfilment of which will not be until long after the event has transpired for the consummation of which Moses' faith must be strengthened. Instead, Moses now requires a sign, they argue, the truth and significance of which he can perceive immediately, and which will at once establish his conviction that this deity is sufficiently powerful to fulfil the word which he has just spoken. And so they would take certain liberties with this verse, either emend 12*b* radically, or transpose it to some other position.

The second half of the verse says that when Israel shall have come forth from Egypt, it will worship this deity at this mountain. Inasmuch, as we have seen, as Moses himself was not previously acquainted with this deity, it follows that the Israelites in Egypt likewise could not have been previously acquainted with him. Therefore the worship here referred to must be the very first worship of this deity by this people. But according to primitive Semitic religious conceptions,<sup>1</sup> amply attested by biblical evidence, the worship of a deity by a tribe or people implies a covenant relation between that deity and that people. A people could not worship an unrelated deity, nor, for that matter, could it worship any deity in any way other than that of his regular, prescribed ritual. Consequently this statement here by this deity can mean only one thing, viz., that thereby he expresses his willingness, and even his determination, to enter into a covenant relation with this people whom he will have delivered; he will accept their worship, and will in turn protect and prosper them further. Moses is not only to bring them out of Egypt, but he is also to bring them directly to this mountain, in order that the covenant may be solemnized and that they may thereupon enjoy the privilege of worshipping him. For this reason Moses need have no fear, as, according to verse 11, he seems to have, that he must upon this mission rely upon his own, unaided efforts alone to accomplish the arduous task of going before Pharaoh and bringing the children of Israel out of Egypt. The deity promises

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Roberston Smith, *Religion of the Semites*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 269 ff.



Moses his aid; he assures him that he is not to go as a mere, ordinary, weak human being, but with his divine support; that it is he who is sending him. And the sign and proof that this deity has indeed sent Moses will be his constant presence with Moses and the repeated manifestations of his power, protection, and support. And in addition, and probably as confirmation and seal of this promise, comes the assurance that Moses shall bring the redeemed Israel to this mountain, and there a covenant shall be solemnized between this deity and this people; if then the deity should have failed or fallen short in any of his promises to Moses, Moses, upon his return to this mountain with the people, will be able to hold the deity responsible. Surely this is sufficient assurance and confirmation of his word, a sufficient indication to Moses that he is going not alone and unaided, but that indeed a deity, and in particular this deity, has sent him.<sup>1</sup>

As we have said, the revelation of the divine name is undoubtedly preparatory to, and actually the first step in, the complicated process of establishing a covenant between Yahwe and Israel. The sequel to this tradition here is found in Exodus, chapters 18-20. There we have the declaration of the deity for the second time of who he is and what his true name is (20:2), followed by a statement of the

<sup>1</sup> That something like this interpretation must have been in the minds of the Massorites may be inferred from the fact that they placed only a *saqes* over עמד instead of the full stop *segolta*. This seems to imply that they interpreted 12a to mean, "Verily, I shall be with thee; and this fact [of Yahwe's being constantly with Moses] shall be the sign that I have sent thee." The majority of medieval Jewish commentators from Rashi on interpreted וַיֵּן as referring to the miracle of the bush burning without being consumed as being proof of Yahwe's power and therefore the sign that Yahwe had sent Moses and could protect him. While this is clearly, in the light of our analysis of this chapter, not the original meaning of this passage, it shows nevertheless that these medieval commentators agreed with the Massorites in interpreting, not 12b, but rather 12a as being the sign given to Moses. These same commentators interpreted 12b as being, not the conclusion of וַיֵּן לְךָ הָאֵתָר, but rather as being the answer to Moses' second question to the deity in 11b, "How shall I bring Israel out from Egypt?" The answer is: "By telling them and Pharaoh that they must go forth in order to worship this deity at this mountain." And actually just this is the message that Moses brings to Israel and to Pharaoh, that they must go forth from Egypt to celebrate a festival to Yahwe in the wilderness. In the present composite form of the narrative this is represented as only a pretext to deceive Pharaoh and induce him to let Israel go; and Pharaoh suspects this (10:10). But, as Eduard Meyer has shown conclusively (*Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarkämme*, pp. 32-42), the original narrative must have told in detail of the exodus of Israel from Egypt primarily in order to celebrate just this festival to Yahwe, of course at the sacred mountain where he was thought to dwell, and of the actual celebration of this festival upon its advent there. Just this is what 3:12b implies; it is clear, therefore, that it accords fully with the details of the original narrative. Not improbably, therefore, 12b was originally introduced by a ך connective, וַיֵּן לְךָ הָאֵתָר.



fundamental principles of his worship, couched in the traditional form of ten laws, which Israel is to observe punctiliously (20:3-17). We have likewise in Exodus, chapter 18, as we have seen, the account of the solemn meal, eaten in the presence of the deity by Jethro, Aaron, and the elders of Israel, as the representatives of the people, by which unmistakably the covenant between the deity and Israel is ratified. We have also the initiation of Moses by Jethro, the priest of this deity, in the technique of the oracle of this deity, and the institution of a judicial system by which the laws emanating from this deity through his oracle can be administered and the life which he has ordained be controlled. And finally, we have in Exod. 23:20 ff. the promise that this deity will send his מלאך to lead the people onward from this mountain to the place which he has appointed for them. Moses had been able to lead the people from Egypt to this mountain, because he had been over the ground twice before, viz., on his first flight from Egypt and again on his return thither. But from the mountain onward the country was entirely unknown to him, and he was therefore unable to lead the people farther; hence the necessity of another guide.<sup>1</sup>

It is clear that the Elohist account of the solemnization of the covenant between Yahwe and Israel is full and complete in practically every detail. And it is equally clear that in the record of the preliminary conversation between the deity and Moses, as recorded in Exodus, chapter 3, the story would be incomplete and inartistically told without some reference to the covenant that is to follow, with its implication that this deity is acting, not whimsically and inconsequentially, but deliberately and with full realization of his ultimate purpose of taking this people to be his worshipers, and the means of its fulfilment. On the ground of this cumulative evidence we must conclude, contrary to the opinion of many biblical scholars, that the reference in 12b to the future covenant is not only essential to the complete narrative, but also that it is altogether in its proper position here, and that it cannot be logically transposed to any better place in the Elohist narrative. And the meaning of the verse must be that which we have offered above.

<sup>1</sup> Exod. 14:19, which speaks of the מלאך אלהים leading Israel already before it came to the Red Sea, is of course the work of E2.



In verse 13, for the same reason that we have emended אֱלֹהֶיךָ of verse 6 to יְהוָה, so here אֱלֹהֵיהֶם must be regarded as the work of the Yahwist redactor, substituted for the original יְהוָה.<sup>1</sup> Certainly, again, the idea of "the God of their fathers" is incompatible with the thought that the people do not know the name of this deity whom their fathers, supposedly, had worshiped, and whom, presumably, they too should have been worshiping all these years. This very ignorance of the name of the deity implies, of course, that there could have been neither acquaintance with, nor worship of, him on the part of Israel.

• Verses 14 and 15 present a difficult problem, yet one which, in view of its difficulty, has been answered, incorrectly we believe, by biblical scholars with surprising unanimity. In verse 13 Moses has put to the deity the question as to his name. Verses 14 and 15 offer the answer to this question. The difficulty is that the answer is double. Verse 15 furnishes an answer to the question of 13 as complete and logical as that of 14. And the difficulty is heightened by the fact that the two answers do not agree. For 14 states explicitly that the name of the deity is *ʿEhyeh*, while 15 states just as explicitly that the name is *Yahwe*. Which is original, and, after determining this, how shall we account for the second answer?

With surprising unanimity, as has been said, scholars have agreed that 14 is the original.<sup>2</sup> The reasons for this conclusion, so far as we have been able to determine, have never been clearly and adequately stated. In fact it would seem that the natural inclination to discover a satisfactory interpretation of the difficult *ʿehyeh ʿašer ʿehyeh* of 14b, with the supposed significance of this name *ʿEhyeh* for the determination of the original conception of *Yahwe*, has caused most scholars completely to overlook the fact that 15 offers a second answer to the question, and to assume, without argument, that 14 is the only and original answer.

As Marti has correctly pointed out,<sup>3</sup> the name of the deity given in 14 is not *ʿEhyeh ʿašer ʿehyeh*, but only *ʿEhyeh* alone. Verse 14b states explicitly that when Moses comes to the children of Israel,

<sup>1</sup> Unless the original read simply אֱלֹהִים, "a deity."

<sup>2</sup> As the tables show, Harford alone, apparently, of all the critics regards 15 as the original and 14 as secondary.

<sup>3</sup> *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion*, pp. 72 f.



and they ask who has sent him, he is to answer, "‘Ehyeh has sent me unto you." We must, therefore, interpret ‘ehyeh ‘ašer ‘ehyeh, not in the usual, meaningless manner, "I am that I am," but, with Marti, "‘Ehyeh, that is, I am"; in other words, the verse implies that the proper name of the deity, ‘Ehyeh, not only specifies him as an individual, but also sets forth his fundamental attribute as "The one who is," presumably, therefore as "The eternally existent one."<sup>1</sup>

But it is significant that the actual name of the deity, elsewhere than in this one verse, is never ‘Ehyeh, but always *Yahwe*. This is his true name, even to the Elohist author, as Exod. 20:2 clearly shows. But inasmuch, as we have maintained, as these verses here are but the introduction to the Elohist account of the covenant on Horeb, and such a covenant between a deity and a people requires a full knowledge of that deity by that people, in order that they may worship him completely and direct their sacrifices and prayers to him alone, and such full knowledge requires among other things acquaintance with the true name of that deity and not merely a descriptive epithet or attribute, it follows that the main Elohist narrative could never have told that the name of this deity was ‘Ehyeh but must have told simply and directly that his name was *Yahwe*.<sup>2</sup> This is proved, as has been said, by the cognate narrative in Exod. 20:2, the formal statement of the deity to the people as a whole, that his name is *Yahwe*, preliminary to the communication to them of the ten fundamental laws of his worship and life; he is *Yahwe*, their God, who has, just as he has here promised Moses, brought them out of Egypt. Accordingly, contrary to the opinion of almost all biblical scholars, we must regard verse 14 as secondary, and verse 15 as the original, the direct answer to Moses' question in verse 13.

<sup>1</sup> So undoubtedly LXX, in rendering ‘Ehyeh δ εἰν, "The existent one."

<sup>2</sup> This thought disposes of the altogether groundless hypothesis of Eduard Meyer (*Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 6) that in answer to Moses' request *Yahwe* pretends to reveal to him his true name, but actually avoids doing so by communicating a name which sounds something like his true name, and which also discloses something of his true nature; but Moses is clever enough to see through the deceit and to infer from the wrong name ‘Ehyeh that the true name is *Yahwe*. This hypothesis is ingenious indeed, but altogether fanciful, and has been very properly rejected by Gressmann (*Mose und seine Zeit*, p. 35), who, however, seems to propose an interpretation which differs but little from that of Meyer in meaning and groundlessness.



In verse 15, therefore, **עַד** and, as we have already seen, **אֱלֹהִי יַעֲקֹב וְאֱלֹהֵי יִצְחָק וְאֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם** must be redactional, the work of the Yahwist editor. Or, more likely, **עַד** was inserted by the same Elohist theologian who inserted verse 14 into the main narrative. For verse 14 is certainly Elohist, as the use of **אֱלֹהִים** and the omission of **עַד** before **יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ** show. The conception of a deity who is designated by such a title as <sup>3</sup>*Ehyeh*, setting forth what is obviously conceived as a fundamental attribute of his, is certainly anything but primitive. Nor is the conception of a deity as "The one who is" or "The eternally existent one" at all primitive, even despite the opinion of such an eminent scholar as Kautzsch.<sup>1</sup> The primitive mind may conceive of eternity and immortality in a negative sense, as the opposite of dying, i.e., living forever, but it hardly conceives of this as a fundamental and distinctive attribute of any one deity. Primitive man does not ask what a deity is, but only what he can do. When we find deities described and individualized by their attributes, and particularly by such abstract concepts as "The one who is," we may be sure that we have entered the realm of theological speculation. Just this is the case with the thought of verse 14. It can be only the product of speculative theologizing as to the nature of Israel's God in circles which, probably even after the destruction of the Northern Kingdom, were directly influenced by Elohist thought and literature, in other words, E2. Not improbably the name <sup>3</sup>*Ehyeh* was suggested by the use of this word in verse 12; in other words, the theological authors of verse 14 probably interpreted verse 12 to mean "But <sup>3</sup>*Ehyeh* is with thee," etc. With this as their starting-point, they developed their thought of <sup>3</sup>*Ehyeh* as the name or designation of the deity.

One fact of importance, however, this verse does bring home. It is, of course, the very first attempt in human history to interpret the name Yahwe etymologically, and from this determine his true nature. And it is significant that these early theologians, living probably close to the end of the eighth century B.C., regarded the name Yahwe as coming from the stem **הָיָה**, "to be," and not from

<sup>1</sup> "Religion of Israel" in Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, V, 625b.



a, in the Semitic dialect of the Israelite tribes in the desert, supposititious **הָרַח**, "to fall," or from any other similar stem with any other similar meaning or implication. This fact should undoubtedly constitute the starting-point in any attempt today to determine the etymological significance of the name Yahwe, for certainly those theologians, even though they can hardly be termed primitive Israelites, were far closer to, and more appreciative of, that early age which first conceived of this deity and coined for him the name Yahwe, and also more appreciative of the spirit of their own native language than are we today. And when they tell us that the name Yahwe is derived from the stem **הָרַח**, "to be," that fact should carry much weight with us today. Apparently, too, they regarded **יְהוָה** as in form a Qal rather than a Hif'il, since they equate it with the Qal form **אֱהִי**.

The original Elohistic narrative of Exodus, chapter 3, as we have reconstructed it, would accordingly read thus:

(1) וַיִּשָּׂה הוּא רֹעָה אֶת־צֹאן יִתְרוֹ הַתֵּנוּ כֹּהֵן מִדִּין וַיִּנְהַג אֶת־הַצֹּאן  
 אַחֵר הַמִּדְבָּר וַיָּבֹא אֱלֹהֵי הָאֱלֹהִים חִרְבָּה: (4) וַיִּקְרָא אֵלָיו אֱלֹהִים  
 מִתּוֹךְ הַסֵּנֶה וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה מִשָּׁה וַיֹּאמֶר הֲנִי: (5) וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־תִּקְרַב  
 הֶלֶם שֶׁל נַעֲלִיךָ מַעַל רִגְלֶיךָ כִּי הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה עֹמֵד עָלָיו אֲדִמָּת  
 קֹדֶשׁ הוּא: (6) וַיֹּאמֶר אֲנֹכִי אֱלֹהִי [הַתֵּנֶךְ] וַיִּסְתֵּר מֹשֶׁה פָּנָיו כִּי יִרָא  
 מִהִבֵּית אֵל הָאֱלֹהִים: (9) [וַיֹּאמֶר] עֲתָה הִנֵּה צִעֲקַת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 בָּאָה אֵלַי וְגַם רָאִיתִי אֶת הַלַּחֲץ אֲשֶׁר מִצְרַיִם לֹחֲצִים אוֹתָם:  
 (10) וְעַתָּה לֵבָה וְאֶשְׁלַחְךָ אֶל־פְּרַעְיָה וְהוֹצֵא אֶת־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מִמִּצְרַיִם:  
 (11) וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה אֶל־הָאֱלֹהִים מִי אֲנֹכִי כִּי אֵלֶךְ אֶל פְּרַעְיָה וְכִי אוֹצִיא  
 אֶת־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מִמִּצְרַיִם: (12) וַיֹּאמֶר כִּי אֱהִי עִמָּךְ וְזָה־לְךָ הָאוֹת  
 כִּי אֲנֹכִי שִׁלַּחְתִּיךָ [וְ]בְהוֹצִיאֲךָ אֶת הָעָם תַּעֲבֹדוּן אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים עַל הַהָר  
 הַזֶּה: (13) וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה אֶל־הָאֱלֹהִים הִנֵּה אֲנֹכִי בָּא אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 וְאָמַרְתִּי לָהֶם אֱלֹהִי [הַתֵּנִי] שִׁלַּחְנִי אֲלֵיכֶם וְאָמְרוּ לִי מִהֲשִׁמּוֹ מִה  
 אָמַר אֱלֹהִים: (15) וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים אֶל מֹשֶׁה כֹּה תֹאמַר אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 יְהוָה שִׁלַּחְנִי אֲלֵיכֶם זֶה־שְׁמִי לַעֲלֹם וְזֶה זְכְרִי לְדֹר דֹּר:

Certainly nothing could be simpler, more direct, and more forceful than this.



It is true that this analysis of Exod. 3:1-15 differs in the main but little from the analyses of previous scholars. In fact it differs in only two essential points, viz., in the careful differentiation between the contents of the original E and J narratives of the theophany itself, as recounted in verses 1-6, and in the conclusion that verse 15 contains the original answer to the question of Moses in verse 13, and that verse 14 is secondary. But the consequences of these two conclusions for the reconstruction of the early history of Israel are far-reaching in both a positive and a negative sense.

In the negative sense this analysis and interpretation of verses 1-6, viz., that the original Elohist narrative told simply that Yahwe dwelt permanently in a bush upon this mountain, and that the entire motive of the bush burning with fire and yet not consumed is secondary, the insertion of a Yahwist reviser or editor, overthrows completely the fundamental premises of the hypothesis first put forward by Eduard Meyer<sup>1</sup> and later reaffirmed by Hugo Gressmann<sup>2</sup> that Yahwe was originally a fire- and volcano-god. They argue that the tradition of Yahwe dwelling in a burning bush, which burns constantly yet is not consumed, can be based only upon the natural phenomenon of a gaseous fire emerging from subterranean depths through a fissure in the earth's surface, and burning constantly in close proximity to a thorn bush, which is, however, not close enough to be consumed thereby. Moreover, Meyer would transfer the site of this strange phenomenon from the mountain, Horeb or Sinai, to Qadeš, according to him the scene of practically all the traditional events of any importance and historical probability attendant upon the exodus from Egypt and the wanderings in the desert. In this transfer, however, he is not followed by Gressmann, who realizes that the hypothesis that Yahwe was originally a volcano-god presupposes a cleft in the earth. Gressmann, accordingly, holds fast to the mountain, and refuses to transfer this one particular tradition to Qadeš.<sup>3</sup>

It is needless to discuss in detail this altogether fanciful and preposterous hypothesis to show the complete groundlessness of its various assumptions. It suffices, in order to disprove it absolutely,

<sup>1</sup> *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, pp. 70 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Mose und seine Zeit*, p. 168.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 24, n. 2.



to have shown, as we believe we have done, that the original Elohist version of this tradition, knew nothing at all of a *burning* bush, but spoke only of *the bush* upon the mountain in which Yahwe dwelt; therefore the mountain was called "the mountain of God" (v. 1), or, undoubtedly more correctly, in the earliest form of the tradition "the mountain of Yahwe" (Num. 10:33). The entire "burning" motive and the theophany in the flame of fire are secondary, the work of J, and accord completely with his characteristic theology of Yahwe's theophanies. But since this fire motive was not a part of the original tradition, the fundamental premise of the hypothesis of the fire- and volcano-god origin of Yahwe is refuted, and the hypothesis is shattered; Yahwe is, as it were, rescued from the flames.

And in a positive way, the implications of this analysis of the introductory portion of the Elohist account of the exodus from Egypt are even more significant. One thing has already become clear from this brief analysis, viz., that for the great majority of the details of their narrative the Elohist writers borrowed from older sources. Seemingly none of the details of the portion of the Elohist narrative contained in Exod. 3:1-15 is original, unless, perhaps, it be the localization of Yahwe in the bush upon the mountain, with the sacred territory or *hima* around it. Everything else, and perhaps even this also, has its antecedents in older tradition.

And it is significant that we meet many of these antecedents in the older K and C documents, as, for instance, Moses' marriage with a maiden of the Qenite tribe, the facts that his <sup>1</sup>יהוה is the tribal priest and oracle-interpreter of the deity of his tribe, and that this deity is named Yahwe and dwells upon a mountain in the wilderness, which is therefore called יהוה האלהים, "the mountain of God," or, more exactly, as we have seen, יהוה יהוה, "the mountain of Yahwe," and the command given to Moses by this deity to go down to Egypt and bring out the children of Israel (not yet the people of Yahwe) and lead them to this mountain, there to enter into a covenant with Yahwe upon the basis of a code of laws to be revealed when the people should have reached the mountain and the covenant

<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly connoting originally "brother-in-law" rather than "father-in-law." The proofs of this statement will be presented in a volume to appear shortly, entitled *Semitic Rites of Taboo Pertaining to Birth and Kindred Occasions*.



should have been established. In these details the Elohist narrative agrees with the fragments of the older K and C documents, which are preserved in the Bible, so completely and exactly that we cannot but conclude that it must have borrowed directly from them with very little modification of the material thus borrowed. This undoubtedly justifies the inference that possibly some of the details of the Elohist narrative, parallels of which are lacking in the comparatively meager fragments of the K and C documents preserved in the Bible, were also narrated, perhaps in a slightly more primitive manner, in the original, complete forms of these two older documents.

The determination of this matter is obviously of great importance for the reconstruction of the history of the tribes of Israel in this early period of the exodus from Egypt and the desert wanderings. But it is so closely bound up with an analysis of the fragments of the K and C documents, referred to above, and a critical study of their contents that further consideration of this problem must necessarily be postponed until these other preliminary studies, and still others related to them, can first be made.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> By the term "K document" I mean Exod. 4:24-26; 33:1a, 12a, 14, 18, 20, 19a, 21-23; 34, 6aa, 8, 10aa, 14a, 17-22, 25-27; Num. 10:29-32, with, naturally, certain minor verbal emendations based chiefly upon LXX. In the article "Biblical Theophanies" (*loc. cit.*, pp. 171-93), already referred to a number of times in this paper, I have set forth the grounds for the isolation of these verses and the conclusion that they can belong to none of the main sources of the Hexateuch, J, E, D, or P, but must constitute a fragment of a document considerably older than any of these. Since the publication of that article, which was more of a preliminary study than aught else, further consideration has brought to light several significant facts that were then as yet unperceived, and has cleared up a number of matters that were then obscure, and a solution of which was offered only tentatively. I believe it is now possible to determine fairly exactly the general contents of the entire document, even of the portions that have been lost, and the date when, and the conditions under which, it was written; in other words, to affirm with quite as much positiveness and assurance as a similar affirmation can be made with regard to any other document of the Hexateuch except D, that this K document constituted the basis of the reform movement in the Southern Kingdom (I Kings 15:11-15; II Chron. 14:1-4; 15) in the fifteenth year of the reign of Asa (II Chron. 15:10), i.e., in the year 899 B.C., and emanated from prophetic and pastoral circles in this kingdom, in which the Kenite, or the closely related Rekebite, clan or tribe must have played quite a considerable rôle. In its original form the K document must have told of the flight of Moses from Egypt, his marriage into the Kenite tribe, his return to Egypt at the command of Yahwe, the exodus of the children of Israel therefrom, their journey to the mountain of Yahwe, the solemnization there of the covenant between them and Yahwe, and their subsequent journey from the sacred mountain to the goal of their wanderings, promised to them by Yahwe. The greater part of this old document has, however, been suppressed by the J2 editors, who incorporated small portions of it into J, in favor of the later J version of the same incidents. In consequence only the comparatively few fragments of the K document cited above are preserved in the Bible. Careful study, however, makes it clear that in most respects the narrative in the suppressed portions of K, although undoubtedly in many details more archaic in character, agreed with the present J and



E narratives, particularly the latter; or, perhaps more correctly, that the J and E narratives are based directly upon the narrative of the suppressed portions of the older K document.

At first I called this document, for obvious reasons, "The Little Book of the Covenant," and designated it by the label C2. But owing to the resultant confusion of both name and label with those of the Book of the Covenant proper, and the additional confusion that this document, labeled C2, was in fact considerably older than the Book of the Covenant, labeled C or C1, I have come to think it best to call this the Kenite document, for reasons easily perceived, and to label it K. (Perhaps Qenite and Q would have been scientifically more accurate, and would have been employed had not Wellhausen formerly used the letter Q to designate the Priestly Code; cf. his *Die Composition des Hexateuchs*.)

The original independence as a document of the Book of the Covenant and its later incorporation into E have long been recognized by biblical scholars. In the continuation of the aforementioned article on "Biblical Theophanies" (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XXVIII [1915], 15-25) I have set forth additional grounds for regarding Num. 10:33 as belonging to this document. Since the publication of that article further investigation has brought to light additional information about the literary history of the C document also. It is now clear that the original code of laws in C, upon the basis of which, according to the narrative there, the covenant between Yahwe and Israel was established, contained only those laws which are designated as *dēbarim*, as Exod. 24, 4 and 8 explicitly state. All the other laws now found in the C document were inserted later, and probably not all at one time. It is possible to distinguish between four different kinds of laws in the present C document, to classify them, and determine in a general way their origin and the order in which they were incorporated into the C code. Of the original C document only the following verses are preserved, Exod. 20:23-26 (expanded somewhat); 22:28-30; 23:10-19 (considerably emended and expanded); 24:4-8; Num. 10:33. The original document, however, it is clear from ample evidence, must have contained also quite an extensive narrative introduction and conclusion, paralleling in most details the narrative of the K document. The greater portion of this also was suppressed by the E2 editors, who incorporated merely these few fragments into E. The close relationship of C to K, and in fact its marked dependence upon K, both in the laws and in the narrative introduction and conclusion, make it very probable, if not practically certain, that the C document constituted the basis of the bloody revolution and reformation of Elisha and Jehu, supported by Jehonadab ben Rekab in the Northern Kingdom in the year 842 B.C. The participation of the Rekabites in this movement reveals the medium of transmission of the code of laws of the K document, the basis of the somewhat similar reformation in the Southern Kingdom fifty-seven years before, to the prophetic circles of the Northern Kingdom.

This summary statement will suffice to explain what is meant by the references to the K and C documents in this paper. Detailed discussion of all the conclusions here presented, and the manifold evidence thereof, must, however, be postponed for some other occasion.



## THE REMINISCENCES OF THE PSALTER

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The Psalms of the Old Testament are pre-eminently devotional. Written as they were for liturgic uses, they seem to have been regarded and treated less rigidly than other products of the Hebrew mind. Their composition and character were largely determined by their use; for their writers appear to have kept in mind the requirements of the temple services on the one hand and the inspirational needs of the people on the other. Most of them were written in Jerusalem which even in the darkest days of their history was the center of the people's life and thought. Probably none of the old Hebrew literature has suffered more, or been subjected to more numerous changes in text, than the Psalter. We may safely assert this while contending that those who endeavor to shape all the lines of many of the Psalms into what they conceive to have been their original form may greatly err. Unquestionably changes were made, and often of a very radical character, to adapt certain of these Psalms to new conditions as they arose, for it was easier for a temple servant to make these changes than to write new psalms, and especially so if he chanced to be without the necessary inspiration which original composition demands. While we frankly admit this we should not fail to see that these Psalms are something more than a collection of devotional pieces, many of which still have their wondrous liturgic uses. Coming as they did out of the very heart of the pious Israel of the centuries which gave them being, they are a priceless revelation of the inner life of the people. They voice the sentiments, longings, and aspirations of those troublous times when the Hebrews were under foreign domination, or when, as in the Maccabean age, the danger of such domination did not seem remote. Life could not under such circumstances safely find expression in historical annals. Hence it is true that no part of the Old Testament is richer in social data, or is more rewarding to the student of Hebrew life, than the Psalter. Rich as are the prophetic



books of the time in their social contents, they just here do not surpass the Psalms. Written from a different point of view and having a different purpose, the prophetic writings have more potently held the attention of the social students of our time, but they are not more deserving of such study. Hence the Psalms should have been taken more seriously and their social data should have been exploited.

But there is another aspect of the Psalter that is deserving of careful consideration. It is its reminiscent character. In endeavoring to meet the needs of their worshipers the writers of this literature reverted to former times, often to the remote past of their people. And for the most part they did so uncritically, drawing freely and without question as they did from their ancient annals. Whatever was calculated to encourage and inspire their worshipers, whatever, if recalled, might render them more patient under tribulation or more valorous in action, they brought forth or wove into their lines with such literary skill and mastery as to win our admiration. And because these Psalms were late their authors drew from documentary sources which to them were hoary with age but which because of this fact were all the more prized by the people.

If then in this study of the reminiscences of the Psalter we find that the writers made large use of composite narratives that differ in few essentials from those which have come down to us, this fact will have great interest for us and will at the same time materially aid us in determining the date of the Psalter as a whole. This, however, is not to be taken as implying that the conclusions reached by the author of this paper are at variance with those of most advanced scholars. He rather, after his most painstaking and exhaustive study, finds himself in such hearty agreement with them that he feels that his work must be regarded as a contribution that reinforces their conclusions.

His study of the reminiscences of the Psalter must begin with those which have to do with creation and close with those which allude to David and his time. Unquestionably there are many psalms in which there are lines reminiscent of the Captivity and even of the Maccabean time, but the limitations which he places upon his paper forbid the consideration of these. Nor can he consider here the numerous passages which may be regarded as quota-



tions from, or reminiscences of, passages found in Jeremiah, Deutero-Isaiah, etc. All these demand separate and exhaustive treatment such as would be deemed inadmissible in this study which must necessarily be lengthy.

#### I. REMINISCENCES FROM THE CREATION NARRATIVES

Such is the nature of the Hebrew Psalter that it should not be considered strange that there are found therein frequent allusions to creation that are easily recognizable as quotations from, or reminiscences of, what we are wont to accept as documentary sources of the Hexateuch.

The psalmists had got far away from the old conception of Yahweh as a tribal deity. To them he was omnipresent and omnipotent. They therefore believed him to be the originator of all that they beheld, though manifestly they were limited in their conception of the universe and the demands it had put upon him as its creator. To them creation was the supreme exhibition of the power as it was of the wisdom and the goodness of their God. Hence their frequent and happy allusions to him as the creator. The earth with its wonders to delight and satisfy the senses, and its marvelous resources which fitted it so admirably to respond to the needs of man, and the heavens whose immeasurable depths awed and whose luminaries wondrously served man, appealed potently to them. To view the earth and to behold the heavens and to reflect thereon brought strongly to their minds thoughts of their creator; but very naturally in speaking of creation they used words which consciously or unconsciously were reminiscent of their early narratives of the beginnings of things.

Creation as a fact finds frequent mention, though usually it is manifest that the psalmists had some motive for the mention of the fact, as when one exclaims, 96:4b:

נורא הוא על-כל-אלהים,

He is to be feared above all gods,

and adds after alluding to the vain, inutile gods of the nations, 96:5b:

ויהוה שמים עשה.

But Yahweh made the heavens,

using as he does so the common verb for "to make," עשה, which,



though it occurs several times in Genesis, chapter 1, as elsewhere with the same connotation, is not the usual verb for "to create" which is **ברא**. This particular allusion of 96:5 seems to be to Gen. 1:6.

One psalmist, 104:2*b*, goes beyond this statement and declares:

נוטה שמים כריצה,

Who stretched out the heavens like a curtain.

While this is an allusion to creation it seems to be reminiscent of Job 9:8*a*, for the same participial form, **נוטה**, is used:

נטה שמים לבדו,

Who by himself alone stretched out the heavens;

or of Isa. 40:22*b*:

הנוטה כדק שמים,

Who stretched out as a fine cloth the heavens,

where though we have the same participle we have the unusual **דק**, "a fine piece of cloth" rather than the common **יריעה**, "a hanging" or "curtain." It is noteworthy that this thought of "stretching out the heavens" is in accord with the force of **רקיע**, "firmament," the word used in Gen. 1:6-8, which overarching canopy seems to be conceived of as "a solid expanse, spread out by beating." We should bear in mind that the author of Genesis, chapter 1, conceived of the firmament as extended over the whole earth and its surrounding waters.

A psalmist, Psalm 136, exhorts Israel to render thanks to Yahweh,

To him who through understanding made the heavens, . . . .

To him who made great lights, . . . .

The sun to rule by day, . . . .

The moon and the stars to rule by night, . . . .

By another psalmist, 33:6*b*, these heavenly bodies are spoken of as **כל-צבאם**, "all their host," i.e., the host of heaven, which is in agreement with Gen. 2:1*b*. The lines quoted from Psalm 136 are reminiscent of Gen. 1:14-18.<sup>1</sup>

The indebtedness of the psalmists to the old narratives appears quite as strikingly in their allusions to the methods and means of creation as to the fact. There is reason for this, for here as elsewhere the authors of the Psalms were borrowers rather than original thinkers.

<sup>1</sup> In Ps. 148:2*b*, **כל-צבאיו**, "all his host," refer to heavenly intelligences other than messengers or angels. Here and elsewhere throughout this study the versification of the Hebrew text is followed.



We are told in a psalm already mentioned, 33:6:

By the word of Yahweh the heavens were made;  
And by the breath of his mouth all their host.

Here in verse 6a we have an allusion to Gen. 1:6-8, for **בְּדָבָר** **יְיָ**, "by the word of Yahweh," finds its equivalent in **וַיֹּאמֶר** **אֱלֹהִים**, "and Elohim said," as does **בְּרוּחַ פִּי**, i.e., "the uttered word" or "by the word breathed forth in speech." The same may be said of the more general statement of verse 9 of this psalm:

For he spake and it was;  
He commanded and it stood,

for manifestly the psalmist had in mind as he wrote the words of Genesis.

As Gen. 1-2:4a belongs to P and consequently is late, several centuries later than the narrative of Gen. 2:4b-25, which is a part of the J narrative, we have, as might be expected, a more exalted conception of the divine method and means of creation. It was by his divine fiat that Elohim wrought. He spake and light was. He spake and the firmament was spread out, separating the waters, part of which remained above. He spake and the waters beneath were gathered together so that the dry land appeared. So of the other acts of creation. All was by imperial fiat and apparently in the thought of the original writer effortless, for it is likely that the idea of a Sabbath of rest, as has recently been contended, found its way into the narrative later.<sup>1</sup> The psalmists could enter into the priestly conception of creation and get inspiration therefrom.

We shall find as we go on in our study that the psalmists made large use of the priestly narrative which runs through the Hexateuch. Hence we are not surprised to discover that "this majestic section" which so fitly introduces these composite narratives should have appealed to them. As a sublime prose poem it lends itself very naturally to the uses of Hebrew psalmody.

However, a careful study reveals that all psalmists did not depend wholly upon Genesis, chapter 1, for some of them seem to have been influenced, measurably at least, by Gen. 2:7, 19. Instead of speaking of creation as wrought through the divine fiat, they

<sup>1</sup> See *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, April, 1920.



allude to their God's hands and fingers as agents in creation, as in Ps. 8:4 where we read:

When I consider thy heavens the work of thy fingers,  
The moon and the stars which thou didst establish.

Similarly in 102:26b:

And the heavens are the work of thy hands;

and in 19:2:

The heavens reveal the glory of God,  
Yea, the firmament declares his handiwork.

Such words are not to be dismissed as purely imaginative, as mere poetry, for it would seem that "the hand of Yahweh" was supposed by certain psalmists to have been a real instrument in creation. This, it is interesting to note, is in accord with Isa. 48:13:

It was my hand also that laid the foundation of the earth,  
And my right hand that spread out the heavens.

While it is true that neither "the hand of Yahweh" nor "the finger of Yahweh" finds mention in Gen. 2:7 which has:

And Yahweh Elohim formed man out of the dust of the ground,

or in Gen. 2:19 which informs us that Yahweh Elohim made the beasts in a similar manner, both passages contain implicitly the thought of his using his hands and fingers in molding the clay. True, here only man and animals were said to have been thus formed; but it seems to have led certain psalmists to find warrant therein for supposing that their God manifested wondrous artistic skill in the use of his hands and fingers in the creation of the heavens and their luminaries.

There was method in creation in the thought of a psalmist. It was orderly and was in accord with wisdom or understanding, 136:5. He seems to have felt the influence of Genesis, chapter 1, where creation is represented as a swift yet progressive and orderly process and where the Creator himself is said to have looked with satisfaction upon his work and pronounced it good.

Naturally the Psalms are not without allusions to the creation of the earth. As might be expected its creation is mentioned with that of the heavens as in 146:6; 121:2; 124:8; 134:3. The same verb עָשָׂה, "to make," is used in all these passages. Indeed in all the participial form of the verb is used, but used apparently as



in the Aramaic. The creation of the sea is mentioned in 146:6 with that of the earth. In 95:5 we are told:

The sea is his and he made it,  
And his hands formed the dry land.

The verb here used for "to form," "to shape," יָצַר, is peculiar to the J creation narrative but not to P. Even more foreign to the text of Genesis, chapter 1, is the verb הָיִל, "to form," "to bring forth" in Ps. 90:2 where we read:

Before the mountains were brought forth  
Or ever thou hadst formed the earth and the habitable world.

The הָיִל of the second line has much the same force as יָצַר of the first. This really is not foreign to Gen. 1:8, 9 where Elohim is said to have made the earth, or the dry land, emerge from the waters. Nor is it to Gen. 1:2b:

And the spirit of Elohim moved upon the face of the waters.

It however is likely that the influence of Gen. 2:4a (P):

These are the generations of the heavens and the earth,

was felt. Surely Ps. 24:2:

For he hath founded it upon the seas  
And established it upon the floods,

is not foreign to Gen. 1:9, 10. We may accept 104:5 as remotely reminiscent:

He founded the earth upon its bases,  
That it should not be moved forever.

Yet here as in 24:2 there may be dependence upon some earlier poetic account of creation. It would seem that according to primitive Semitic thought the bases or pillars of the earth were supposed to rest in the primeval waters as the bases of the upper chambers in which Yahweh was said to dwell also rested, though farther away, in the same waters, as one of the psalmists expressed it, 104:3a:

Who laid the beams of his upper chambers in the waters.

Both the heavenly dwelling of Yahweh and the earthly of man were stable because the foundations of each were securely laid.

The creation of the sea as alluded to in 95:5a is in accord with Gen. 1:9, 10. Nor is the more poetic utterance of 104:6-9 in



conflict therewith, though it must be admitted that the influence of Gen. 1:2, 7 is also discernible:

Who coveredst it with the deep as with a robe;  
The waters stood above the mountains.  
At thy rebuke they fled;  
At the sound of thy thunder they fled affrighted.  
Thou didst appoint bounds that they might not pass,  
Nor turn again to cover the earth.

It would seem that the allusion is to the primeval deep and to the subsidence thereof as it was gathered together by Yahweh into the place of his choosing. So also in Ps. 33:7:

Who gathered the waters of the sea as in a bottle,  
Who laid up the floods in store-chambers.

In Ps. 89:13 there is an allusion to the creation of the north and the south that at first thought must seem to be without a trace of the influence of Genesis, chapter 1; but we should bear in mind that to the psalmists the northland stretched off into the unknown and the southland, whose distant shores were washed by what seemed an illimitable sea, was a part of the earth which, according to the priestly writer, Yahweh had created.

That the psalmists should have overlooked the creation of man was not to be expected, though the contemplation of it could not furnish them the poetic material which the creation of the visible universe did. In 8:6-8, in contrasting man with the wonders of the heavens, a psalmist exclaims:

For thou madest him scarce lower than the Elohim,  
And didst crown him with glory and honor,  
Making him to have rule over the works of thy hands;  
All things didst thou put under his feet.

The psalmist goes on to name the beasts put under him. All this is in accord with Gen. 1:26-28, and it is not out of harmony with Gen. 2:19, 20.

Ps. 100:3b:

He made us and we are his,  
His people and the sheep of his pasture,

though presumably a quotation from Job 10:8a, may be regarded at the same time as indirectly reminiscent of both Gen. 1:26 f. and



Gen. 2:7; but the following can reasonably be considered reminiscent only of the latter passage:

Thy hand made me and fashioned me,

Ps. 119:73a, manifestly a direct quotation from Job as above. Though Israel is the speaker and the utterance refers to the beginnings of Hebrew life, the passage nevertheless may be taken as reminiscent of Gen. 2:7.

In Ps. 8:7, in dwelling upon man as made by Yahweh, the psalmist speaks of "the works of thy hands," בְּמַעֲשֵׂי יָדֶיךָ, as put under him. Apparently the words which follow are explanatory. Domestic and wild animals, birds of the air and fish of the sea, are included. These in accord with Gen. 1:20-25 were created by him, or, as Gen. 2:19 puts it, were the work of Yahweh.

Then, too, a psalmist in speaking of the sea as made by Yahweh adds as part of his creative work, 146:6b: "And all that is therein." In 148:2, "all his messengers," and "all his host," are in the psalmist's thought, as we have seen, heavenly beings or intelligences. They, together with the sun, moon, and stars, are exhorted to praise Yahweh by whose command they were created.

Thus, as we see, there are many reminiscences of creation in the Psalter. At the same time we discover that while the influence of the old J narrative of Gen. 2:4b-25 is manifest here and there, the major part of the reminiscences take us back only to the priestly narrative which in the day of these psalmists seems to have been a part of the composite text that has come down to us.

## II. REMINISCENCES FROM THE PATRIARCHAL NARRATIVES

Among the interesting reminiscences of the Psalter are those which take us back in thought to the patriarchal age. While these are not as numerous as the allusions to the life of Israel in Egypt, or during the desert period, they are numerous enough to reveal that the patriarchal legends had not only become fixed but that they were known to the psalmists in substantially the same literary form in which they have come down to us. The priestly narrative as well as J and E were known and used. If more of the allusions here are to E than to J it perchance was because the patriarchs had according to the old legends so much to do with North Israel.



In Ps. 39:13b we come upon the words:

For I am a guest with thee,  
A sojourner as my fathers were.

Ps. 105:12 notes that the patriarchs were "easily numbered and very few,"<sup>1</sup> and they were sojourners in the land, while verse 23 asserts that Jacob was "a sojourner in the land of Ham," יַעֲקֹב גֵר בְּאֶרֶץ-חָם. This is in accord with Gen. 23:4<sup>2</sup> (P) and 35:27 (P) as well as the general tenor of the earlier JE narratives.

Allusions to the people of Israel as chosen of their God appear to be reminiscent of the patriarchs and Yahweh's choice and use of them. In Ps. 135:4 we have such a passage:

For Yahweh chose Jacob for himself,  
Israel for his peculiar treasure.

Here "Jacob" and "Israel" seem to be common terms for the people as descendants of that patriarch. The thought of Israel as "a peculiar treasure" is found in Exod. 19:5 (E) and also in Deut. 7:6 f.; 10:15; but we may believe that the verse as a whole is reminiscent of the story of Yahweh's choice of Jacob as found in Gen. 28:13 f. (J). The word סְגֻלָּה, "special," "peculiar," in Exod. 19:5, as here, is the adjective without the noun. The verbal root appears in the Aramaic but not in the Hebrew. It gives the adjective the force of "something acquired."<sup>3</sup>

In Ps. 105:6 we read:

Ye seed of Abraham his servant,  
Ye children of Jacob his chosen.<sup>4</sup>

Reference to Israel as "the seed of Abraham" is a way of asserting the Abrahamic origin of Israel. Certainly it accords with numerous promises believed to have been made to him. The conception of this patriarch as servant of Yahweh takes us back to Gen. 26:24 (J). The allusion to Israel as "the children of Jacob" in like manner emphasizes their descent from that patriarch, a designation found only here in the Psalms. In I Chron. 16:13 we apparently have a quotation from this psalm. Like the phrase "the children of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gen. 34:30 (J); Deut. 7:7.

<sup>2</sup> The same words appear here as in the Psalm, גֵר and תוֹשֵׁב.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ps. 33:12. Here the *chosen* people are alluded to as an *inheritance*, נַחֲלָה, not as סְגֻלָּה.

<sup>4</sup> בְּחִירָיו, "his chosen," is to be preferred to בְּחִירָיו, "his chosen ones."



Israel" in Ps. 148:14, it found little favor with the psalmists who preferred "Jacob" and "Israel" as terms for the people of Yahweh. The thought of Jacob as chosen takes us back directly to God's call through Moses in Egypt; but at the same time it may be reminiscent of Gen. 28:13 f. (J), and perchance of Gen. 35:9 f. (P).

Directly reminiscent is Ps. 105:8 f., for it speaks of the covenant which Yahweh made with Abraham and the oath which he swore to Isaac and confirmed unto Jacob,

Saying, unto thee will I give the land of Canaan  
To be the lot of your inheritance.<sup>1</sup>

The story of the formal covenant with Abraham is found in Genesis, chapter 17 (P); but the priestly writer of this chapter found warrant for it in JE, in Gen. 22:17 and 26:3 especially, passages which may have influenced the psalmist quite as much as Genesis, chapter 17. The reference to the oath made to Isaac seems to refer to Gen. 26:24 (J). The renewal made to Jacob was at Bethel.

The allusion to the patriarchal wanderings, 105:13:

They went from one nation to another,  
From one kingdom to another people,

finds warrant in various peregrinations, but especially in the narrative of Abraham's visit to Egypt, his and Isaac's visit to Philistia, and Jacob's to Egypt as well as his earlier sojourn in Syria. These are mostly JE narratives; but we have a priestly account of Abraham's migration from Ur of the Chaldees to Canaan, of his visit to the Hittites and the burial of his wife among them, of Jacob's visit to and sojourn in Syria and his return therefrom, and even of his going down into Egypt. Hence we must conclude that the psalmist had access to the composite narrative known to us.

The declaration that Yahweh suffered no one to do them harm, that he reprov'd kings for their sakes, refers unmistakably to incidents in the lives of Abraham and Isaac as narrated in Gen. 12:10-20 (J); 20:2-17 (E); and 26:7-15 (J). The allusion to the reproof of kings goes beyond the narratives in that it gives us what purports to be the exact words used. The old narrative of Abraham's Egyptian experience relates that Pharaoh was brought to surmise

<sup>1</sup> The quotation gives us the substance of the promise recorded in Gen. 13:15 (E, or late prophetic), and 15:18 (J).



that all was not right because his house was mysteriously plagued. In the story of Abraham's experience in Philistia, Abimelech, after he took Sarah from Abraham, was warned by Elohim in a dream by night, which is thoroughly in accord with the E narrative. In the story of Abimelech's infatuation for Rebekah and his rebuke of Isaac for his falsehood we are told that the king charged his servants not to touch the man's wife. The psalmist must have had these narratives in mind, but he was hardly warranted in his inferences. There may have been some excuse, however, for the language of Ps. 105:14 f. in the statement that after the slaughter of the men of Shechem, Gen. 35:5 (E), "the terror of Elohim was upon the cities that were round about them and they did not pursue after the sons of Jacob."

In verse 16 of this same psalm we are told:

He called for a famine in the land;  
He broke the whole staff of bread.

Here we have a reminiscence of Gen. 41:56 f. and chapter 42 (JE). The mention of the sending of Joseph down into Egypt and his being sold as a bondman which follows in this psalm is far more than a reminiscence of Genesis, chapter 37 (JE). There also is reference to 45:5-9 (JE) and 50:20 (E) where Joseph is said to have recognized the hand of divine Providence. Following verse 17 of the psalm in which we are reminded that Joseph was sold as a bondman is the statement that his feet were galled with fetters and his spirit felt iron chains, an allusion to Gen. 39:20 (J). In verse 19 we are told that Joseph remained in chains until the promised time was come, which seems to be an allusion to Gen. 37:6-10 (E). Then the king sent and released him (see Gen. 41, JE). Verse 21 adds:

He made him lord over his house,  
And ruler of his possessions.

While this statement finds its warrant in Gen. 41:33 (E), the next, verse 22, is, as Briggs remarks, "an exaggeration of Gen. 41:43 f. in the Maccabean temper":<sup>1</sup>

To bind their princes at his pleasure,  
And to teach his elders wisdom.

<sup>1</sup> Here and elsewhere in this paper references to Briggs' work are to his commentary on the Psalms in the *International Critical Commentary*.



### III. REMINISCENCES FROM THE NARRATIVES OF ISRAEL'S LIFE IN EGYPT

At the very beginning of the story of Israel's life in Egypt are statements as to their marvelous increase. These appear in Exod. 1:7:

And the children of Israel were fruitful and increased  
And the land was full of them (P);  
And they became numerous and powerful (J).

We have a reminiscence of this in Ps. 105:24:

And he made the people exceedingly fruitful,  
Yea he made them stronger than their foes.

Here is "certainly an inappropriate exaggeration which if true made divine interposition unnecessary"; yet what interests us is that the lines appear to be reminiscent especially of what is supposed to be the P part of the verse. The same verb is used by the psalmist which is employed by the priestly narrator, פִּירָה. These statements of Exod. 1:7, it should be noted, must be considered as much a part of the wonder narrative of Exodus as the narratives having to do with the plagues; but this did not deter the psalmist from using them. It seems rather to have enhanced their value in his thought.

We are reminded in Ps. 105:25 that the Israelites in process of time as they increased wondrously aroused the envy and even the fear of the Egyptians and in consequence were subjected to a life of bondage. The corvée, ever so common in the East, found use for them; but Yahweh delivered them, Ps. 81:6:

I removed his shoulder from the burden,  
His hand escaped the basket.

The basket, used then as now in the East for conveying earth, clay, bricks, etc., was carried when filled on the shoulder. The psalmist seems to have had in mind Exod. 1:11-14a; 3:7, 8; 5:5-19, all J passages, with the exception of 1:13 (P) which with 3:9 (E) may have been noted.

In Ps. 105:26 we read:

He sent Moses his servant,<sup>1</sup>  
And Aaron whom he had chosen.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Moses is alluded to in Ps. 106:23 as "his chosen."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ps. 77:21.



The narratives which have to do with the sending of Moses occupy considerable space in Exodus and are about equally divided between J, E, and P, largely in 2:23—4:31, and chapter 6; while Aaron's summons finds mention only in Exod. 4:14 f. (J); 4:27 (E); and 7:1 (P).

The words of Ps. 78:12 are characteristic of the reminiscences of Israel's experiences in Egypt:

In the sight of their fathers he did wonderful things  
In the land of Egypt, in the field of Zoan.

Evidently the psalmist had the plagues with which Egypt was visited in mind as he mentions them farther on, as in verse 44 where the plague of blood is alluded to. This is reminiscent of Exod. 7:17b, 20b (E), and 7:19, 21b (P). The J narrative of the plagues knows nothing of the turning of the water into blood, though it does speak of the water as stinking because made foul by the killing of the fish, 7:18.

The plague of flies and that of frogs are mentioned, verse 45 in Psalm 78; and here the allusions are to the J and P narratives, though naturally the statement that the flies devoured them and the frogs destroyed them must be looked upon as a gross exaggeration on the part of the psalmist. The mention of the locusts, verse 46, finds warrant in Exod. 10:1 f. (J) and 10:12, 14a (E). We are reminded that the hail destroyed their vines, their fig trees, and their cattle, verses 47, 48, which finds warrant in Exod. 9:13 f. (J) and in 9:22 f. (E).

The smiting of the first-born of Egypt, verse 51, recalls Exod. 11:4 f.; 12:29 (J); and perchance the elaborate instructions of Exod. 12:1—13 (P).<sup>1</sup> The E narrative seems to have prepared its readers for such slaughter in stating as it did that another plague was to follow the plague of darkness, Exod. 11:1. The mention of מַלְאכֵי רָעִים as sent among the Egyptians, verse 49, is in accord with Exod. 12:23 (J) where it is said Yahweh will pass through to smite the Egyptians.<sup>2</sup> It was thoroughly in harmony with the more exalted conception of Yahweh of the late time to speak of these "angels of evils" as serving him as destroyers.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ps. 136:10.

<sup>2</sup> The fury, anger, and wrath of Yahweh are here alluded to as "angels of evils." Whether the verse is a late gloss need not concern us. Presumably it is.



In Ps. 135:8 Yahweh is mentioned as the one who smote the first-born of Egypt, both of man and beast. Only in what is considered a late gloss of J, Exod. 12:29, is there mention of the slaughter of the first-born of cattle.

Ps. 105:28-36 mentions most of the plagues alluded to in Psalm 78 and also speaks of a plague of darkness, *שִׁלַח חֹשֶׁךְ וַיְחַשְׁךְ*, which finds record in only one of the old narratives, Exod. 10:21-23 (E).

The assertion that Yahweh brought out the people from Egypt with silver and gold, Ps. 105:37*a*, is reminiscent of Exod. 12:30-34 (J) and 12:35, 36 (E). The priestly writers did not allude to this, presumably because this part of the story did not appeal to them, or perchance because it was contrary to their sense of right, and so seemed to demean their God and bring discredit upon Israel. The statement that not a man among them stumbled, verse 37*b* of this psalm, was a rather free and unwarranted inference as well as an exaggerated statement, though not unlike some others of the psalm. On the other hand, the remark that Egypt rejoiced over the departure of the Israelites because "their terror had fallen upon them," verse 38, finds sufficient excuse in Exod. 12:30-33 (J).

#### IV. REMINISCENCES FROM THE NARRATIVES OF THE DELIVERANCE OF ISRAEL FROM EGYPT

Whether the narratives having to do with the emancipation of the Israelites from a life of bondage in Egypt are true to fact or are largely imaginative, they were, we know, a great source of comfort and inspiration to the people of the Exilic and post-Exilic centuries. Living as they did at a time when their land was ruled by foreign satraps and they were, even when at home, little better than serfs of landlords whose rulers exploited them, their psalmists were sure to strike a responsive chord by weaving into their lines reminiscences of the great deliverance of their progenitors at the hands of Moses and Aaron who, after a series of marvels wrought by their God, led them forth into the wilderness. Like the writing prophets the psalmists felt these charms of the old narratives and consequently made large and happy use of them.

In Ps. 81:11*a* we have words which must be recognized as a quotation from Exod. 20:2*a* and Deut. 5:6, both of which



manifestly are from the deuteronomists, **אנכי יהוה אלהיך המעלך במצרים**.<sup>1</sup> The difference between this and the deuteronomic statement is slight: **אנכי יהוה אלהיך אשר הוצאתיך במצרים**. In the psalm we have **המעלך**, usually employed in kindred late passages for **הוצאתיך**. The absence of the relative is what might be expected in a late quotation.

Ps. 136:11a has:

And he brought Israel out from their midst,

while 136:12a has:

With a strong hand and with a stretched-out arm.

Verse 10 mentions the fact that Yahweh smote Egypt in their first-born. It was from the midst of a people suffering greatly, as the Exodus narratives have it, that Yahweh brought forth his people. "The strong hand and the stretched-out arm" is a common deuteronomic phrase.<sup>2</sup>

The words of Ps. 114:1:

When Israel went forth out of Egypt,

The House of Jacob from a people of unintelligible tongue,

without the apodosis have interest for us though they really add little to the lines already quoted. From Gen. 42:23 (E) we must infer that the speech of the Egyptians was utterly unintelligible to the Hebrews, so that it really seemed uncouth or barbarous to them.

Unmistakably Ps. 74:2:

Remember thy congregation which thou boughtest of old,

Which thou didst redeem as the tribe of thine inheritance,

refers to the Exodus and is reminiscent of the late poetry of Exod. 15:16, but especially of Deut. 32:6, 7, where we read of Yahweh:

Is not he thy Father who hath purchased thee?

The phrase "tribe of thine inheritance" refers to all Israel. See Jer. 10:16 where Israel is spoken of as "the tribe of *his* inheritance." The same Hebrew words occur in both passages: **שבט נחלה**.

Ps. 105:43 strikes a different note:

He brought forth his people with joy,

His chosen with jubilation.

<sup>1</sup> This may be a gloss here, but if so, it is an old one, added to the text not long after the psalm came into use.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. 4:34; 5:15; 7:8.



Here the psalmist seems to have had in mind the outbursts of song which, according to story, followed the deliverance at the Sea of Reeds rather than the escape of the host by night from Egypt, which was pictured as too hurried to be joyful. With this verse we may include 66:6 which closes with the words:

There did we rejoice in him,

and 106:12:

And they believed in his word  
And they sang his praise.

This reminiscently carries us back to Exod. 15:1 (J) and 15:21 (E), and also to the song which follows 15:1, which, though late poetry, seems to have been known to the psalmists.

In Ps. 80:9 we read that Yahweh "brought a vine out of Egypt." This beginning of a beautiful allegory is all that concerns us here. The likening of Israel to a vine, one of the land's royal plants, is a common one with the poets, prophets, *et al.* Here it may be based on, or suggested by, Gen. 49:22, late poetry.

Though we have numerous references in the Psalms to Yahweh's deliverance of his people from Egypt, but once is he designated the "Savior" or "Deliverer," *יֹשִׁיעַ*, of his people, 106:21:

They forgot El their Savior  
Who had done great things in Egypt.

However, the term *יֹשִׁיעַ* is not foreign to other passages in which the verb from which the noun is derived occurs.

The crossing of the Sea of Reeds which separated Israel from the desert is naturally looked upon as the close of the work of deliverance from Egypt. Ps. 74:13 f. speaks of this:

Thou didst divide the sea by thy strength,  
Thou didst break the heads of the dragon by the waters;  
Thou didst crush the heads of Leviathan in pieces,  
And didst give him to be food for wild beasts.

While the language is semi-mythical it would seem that the dragon or leviathan is Egypt.

In Ps. 66:6 we are told how through Yahweh, Israel escaped:

He turned the sea into dry land;  
They went through the flood on foot.



This is reminiscent of Exod. 14:21b (J) and 14:22 (P). A psalmist in 78:13 tells the same story in somewhat different words:

He clave the sea and let them pass over,  
And he made the waters stand up as a heap.

The mention of the cleaving of the sea seems to refer back to Exod. 14:16a (E) and 21c (P), while the thought of the waters standing as a heap points back to Exod. 15:8, late poetry.

The writer of Ps. 106 remarks that the fathers were unmindful of what their God had done for them in Egypt, that they were forgetful of his ancient mercies and so became defiant and rebellious at the Sea of Reeds, but that nevertheless he saved them for his name's sake, in order to make his might known, verses 7, 8. This looks back to Exod. 14:11, 12 (J).<sup>1</sup> The phrase לִמְעַן שֵׁמוֹ and its equivalent לִמְעַן שְׁמִי are found in numerous passages in the Psalms and Prophets. They convey the thought that Yahweh felt that his honor or reputation was at stake at times as here. Therefore he did what he did at the Sea of Reeds to save his reputation, "for his name's sake." He wished his might to be made known in the sight of the nations. This is the psalmist's thought, but it is hardly warranted by anything we find in the old narratives. It does not belong to the early time but to a time of theological reflection.

The verb in 106:9 is to be noticed as suggestive:

And he *rebuked* the Sea of Reeds and it dried up;  
And he led them through the depths as through a desert.

This goes beyond anything found in the early narratives. Exod. 14:21b (J) says Yahweh caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind. Exod. 14:21a and c P says that Moses stretched out his hand over the sea and the waters were divided. The thought of Yahweh as rebuking the waters is a free poetic rendering of the old narrative. The psalmist here may have been influenced by the writer of Ps. 104:7.

#### V. REMINISCENCES FROM THE NARRATIVES OF THE LIFE OF ISRAEL IN THE DESERT

The story of the life of Israel in the desert seems to have strongly impressed itself upon the psalmists and to have furnished them a mass of material, much of which they used with patriotic fervor

<sup>1</sup> See also Exod. 14:17 f. (P).



very effectively. This is what one would very naturally expect to find true, for the leading episodes of that desert experience, as narrated by the old chroniclers, were so dramatic and so suggestive as to render them a rich and never-failing source upon which those gifted as writers of psalmody might draw. As might be expected, some incidents were drawn upon again and again. If we are moved to wonder why certain other incidents were ignored by these psalmists we should stop to reflect that it is fairly presumable that many of the psalms of Israel were lost and that these may have had the very reminiscences which the Psalter as we now have it lacks.

The Israelites, having got safely across the Sea of Reeds in which the pursuing Egyptians were whelmed, were led out into the desert on their way to the Mount of God. This beginning of their wanderings was alluded to in Ps. 78:14:

And he guided them with a cloud by day,  
And all the night by a light of fire,

lines which are reminiscent of Exod. 13:21 f. (J) and of Num. 14:14 (J), etc.

We are told in Ps. 105:39 that this cloud was spread for a covering and that the fire was to give light by night. This goes beyond the thought of the early narratives. The psalmist may have been influenced, as Briggs suggests, by Isa. 4:5, 6. Certainly the old narratives had no thought of the cloud as a shield or protection from the sun by day, for this would have required a cloud that extended back over the supposedly vast camp of the Hebrews instead of one that simply went before them or that stood over the tent of meeting without the camp. Nor was there the thought that the luminous cloud was for the purpose of lighting by night the vast encampment. The pillar of cloud that went before the host by day became by night so luminous as to comfort them and even to guide them if they traveled then, as most nomads often do, Yahweh's presence being therein at all times. Reference to the cloud as resting over the tent of meeting is found in Exod. 40:34<sup>1</sup> in what is supposed to be a part of the priestly narrative which presumably is a somewhat awkward attempt to weave in some JE material, for in Num. 9:16 (P) we are told that the cloud rested over the tabernacle which,

<sup>1</sup> I have grave doubts as to this being a part of the priestly narrative.



according to this narrative, was in the center of the encampment. In harmony with the above thought of the cloud is Ps. 99:7a in which we are told Elohim spake to them in a pillar of cloud, warrant for which statement was found by the psalmist in Exod. 33:10 and in Num. 11:25; 12:5, all belonging to E.

The first incident after Israel left the Red Sea, or Sea of Reeds, to find mention in the Psalms, 106:32a, 33a, had to do with the conduct of the people at Meribah which received its name, "strife," מִרִּיבָה, owing to the fact that Israel was in rebellion there against Yahweh and his accredited leaders, Num. 20:1-13 (P)<sup>1</sup> and Exod. 17:1-7 (JE):

They provoked him at the waters of Meribah,  
For they rebelled against his Spirit.

The E and P narratives are agreed in saying that the name given the place was because of the contention of the people. The allusion to the *testing* of Israel at Meribah in Ps. 81:8c is manifestly out of place, though unmistakably it refers to this incident, Exod. 17:7. But the exhortation of Ps. 95:8 f. is pertinent here:

Harden not your heart, as at Meribah,  
As in the day of Massah in the desert,  
When your fathers tried me,  
Yea proved me and saw my work.

The allusion to the strife at Meribah is in harmony with what we have just considered, while the reference to "the day of Massah" must be regarded as reminiscent of Exod. 17:7, a part of the J narrative that is very reasonably considered a variant of that in E and P. The "work" of Yahweh, here mentioned, seems to have been the bringing of water from the rock. Reference to this is found in Ps. 105:41:

He opened the rock and waters gushed out,  
They flowed through the desert as a river.<sup>2</sup>

It is the P narrative which speaks of the water as coming forth abundantly, so that the congregation and their cattle drank of it, Num. 20:11. Nothing is said of a stream, but that might very naturally be inferred.

In Ps. 78:17 f. we read of sinning Israel:

And they sinned yet more against him,  
Defying the Most High in the desert;  
Yea they tempted God in their heart  
By demanding meat for their lust.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. 5 presumably belongs to E.

<sup>2</sup> So, too, in Ps. 78:20.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ps. 106:14 which also is reminiscent of Num. 11:4 f. (J) and Exod. 16:2 f. (P).



This refers especially to Exod. 16:2 f. (P) where the story of Israel's sin is most flagrantly stated. In Num. 11:4 f. (J) the longing of the people for flesh is mentioned. This is said to have angered Yahweh greatly. In Num. 11:1 (E) we are told that the Israelites "were as those who complain of misfortune" and that their complaint angered Yahweh. So here in this psalm their attitude toward their God is said to have roused him to anger. The faithless question which this psalmist puts in the mouth of Israel, verse 19b:

Can God furnish a table in the desert ?

is a very imaginative rendering of Num. 11:4, 5 (J). These passages in Numbers apparently are warrant for the reasoning of the people as given in Ps. 78:20 which is said to have so thoroughly roused Yahweh, verses 21 f.<sup>1</sup> However, the psalmist was in accord with the narratives when he said, 78:23 f., that Yahweh rained manna upon the people and sent them quails. The statement that while the manna was in their mouths the wrath of Elohim came upon and slew the fattest of them, verses 30, 31, even the chosen men of Israel, finds some sort of warrant in Num. 11:33 (J); yet the psalmist, it must be confessed, let his imagination play with the old narratives, for nothing is said of the leading men of Israel apart from the people generally.<sup>2</sup>

Allusion to Israel's experience at Sinai appears in Ps. 68:8 f.:

O Elohim, when thou wentest forth before thy people,  
When thou didst march through the desert,  
The earth quaked, the heavens dropped,  
Yon Sinai quaked at the presence of Elohim,  
At the presence of Yahweh, the Elohim of Israel.

This is reminiscent of Exod. 19:16 f. (E), though, as Cheyne suggested, the influence of Judg. 5:4 f. and of certain other passages of poetry seems to have been felt.<sup>3</sup> The warrant for saying that Elohim went before them may be found in Exod. 14:19a (E), where מִלְאֲךְ הָאֱלֹהִים, the visible presence of Elohim, is spoken of as going before them.

<sup>1</sup> See Num. 11:10 (J) as well as 11:1 (E).

<sup>2</sup> In connection with the statement concerning the anger of Yahweh is one which speaks of fire being kindled by Yahweh against Israel. This points back to Num. 11:1 (E).

<sup>3</sup> Here and elsewhere in this paper reference to the work of Cheyne is to his well-known commentary on the Psalms.



We are told in Ps. 106:19 that they made a calf at Horeb and worshiped a molten image. The psalmist adds:

Thus they exchanged his glory  
For the image of an ox that eateth herbage,

which is reminiscent of Exod. 32:1-6 (E).

The statement concerning the people's jealousy of Moses and Aaron, Ps. 106:16, finds excuse in Num. 16:1 f., which belongs largely to P; but the designation of Aaron as קדוש ייִדוּדָה may, as Briggs suggested, be found in the statement concerning the inscription upon the miter of the high priest, Exod. 28:36 (P).

Appropriately the lines which refer to the destruction of Dathan and Abiram, who rebelled against the authority of Moses and Aaron, follow the mention of the people's jealousy of their leaders, 106:17. This is reminiscent of Num. 16:1b, 2a, 12 f. (D)<sup>1</sup> and of Deut. 11:6, 7. The remark that fire was kindled in their company, flames licked up the wicked (verse 18 of this psalm), really is reminiscent of an altogether different incident, the destruction of the Korahites, a story interwoven in the ancient narrative with the story of the destruction of Dathan and Abiram.<sup>2</sup>

One psalmist, 136:16a, exhorts his people to ascribe praise

To him that led his people in the desert.

This is of such a general character as to cover the entire period of Israel's desert wanderings.

In Ps. 135:10 Yahweh is spoken of as one who smote great nations and slew mighty kings.<sup>3</sup> This is followed by mention of the kings whose land, it is said, Yahweh gave to Israel for a heritage. The allusion to the conquest of Sihon looks back to Num. 21:32, 24b, 25 f. (J), 21:21-24a, 31 (E), Deut. 2:24-37. The allusion to the conquest of Og looks back to Num. 21:33-35 (D) and Deut. 3:1-11. The narrative in Deuteronomy appears to have been incorporated in Numbers with few changes.<sup>4</sup> The land of these kings, the psalmist, 135:12, reminds his people, was given for an inheritance unto Israel, a thought in accord with certain of the old narratives, Num. 21:25 (J); 21:31 (E), Deut. 2:31; 3:12 f.

<sup>1</sup> Or possibly J.

<sup>2</sup> See Num. 16:35, part of the priestly narrative.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ps. 136:17a, 18a.

<sup>4</sup> Or the reverse is true.



In Ps. 99:6a Moses and Aaron are both named as priests and are mentioned as making intercessions. Because of his sacerdotal acts Moses is designated as a priest. Warrant for such an allusion to him is found in numerous passages but especially in Exod. 24 (JE); 40:22-33 (P), and Leviticus, chapter 8, a part of the priestly code. In this latter passage Moses is said to have consecrated Aaron and his sons as priests.

In 95:10 f. we are reminded of the length of time during which Yahweh had to bear with erring Israel in the desert:

For forty years I was loathing this generation;  
(And I said) they are a people who go astray in their hearts,  
And they are ignorant of my ways,  
Hence I swear in my anger  
They shall not enter my resting-place.

This finds warrant in Num. 14:26-35 which was largely the work of the priestly writers, although E has the substance of it in Num. 14:25, 40-43, a passage which was used by Deut. 1:34-40. However, the priestly narrative is not alone in alluding to the forty years.<sup>1</sup> The exact words put in the mouth of Yahweh are not found in the old narratives, though there seems to have been sufficient warrant for them.

We may fitly close this section by quoting the confession made by Israel in Ps. 51:7:

Behold I was brought forth in iniquity,  
And in sin did my mother conceive me,

for this must be accepted as having to do with the life of the people after they came out into the desert. Their beginnings as a people were, as the narratives reveal, in lust, querulousness, and rebellion.

#### VI. REMINISCENCES FROM THE NARRATIVES OF THE CONQUEST OF CANAAN

We are not surprised to find that the story of the beginnings of Hebrew life in Canaan should have so impressed the psalmists that they referred frequently to it; nor are we to find that they should have taken the narratives at their face value, and where there were different versions, one of which may have overlooked actual facts

<sup>1</sup> See Num. 14:11-23, 31-33 (J). In Exod. 16:35a (E) we are told the people ate manna forty years. Cf. Num. 32:13 (P); Deut. 2:7; 8:2; etc.; Josh. 5:6 (D).



and have pictured the conquest as a rapidly consummated work of Yahweh, they should have favored it because it seemed to fit into what they daily saw as they mingled with their people and because it suited their literary and inspirational needs as those who wished to exalt and encourage their oppressed fellow-Israelites. They accepted all that legend and fancy ascribed to their God in that olden time when their progenitors entered into, and got possession of, the land and settled therein, and they did so joyously. Had they lived in the early days of David's reign when there were still independent Canaanite cities which repelled all assaults of the Hebrews, if, indeed, they had any hope of making conquest of them, they would have spoken differently.

The old sagas, or narratives, which had to do with the settlement of the Hebrews in Canaan rather than their conquest of the land, begin their story with the crossing of the Jordan. This is referred to in Ps. 114:3, 5:

The sea saw it and fled,  
Jordan turned backward.  
What ailed thee, O sea, that thou shouldst flee,  
Thee, O Jordan, that thou shouldst turn back?<sup>1</sup>

The sea here is the Red Sea, or Sea of Reeds, as it was known to the Hebrews. It seems to have been mentioned with the Jordan because the crossing of it marked the beginning of the desert life of the people as the crossing of the Jordan marked the close of that life and the entrance of Israel into Canaan. The answer to the question here is found in verse 7. It was the presence of Yahweh, the Elohim of Jacob.

It would seem that the psalmist felt the influence of Exod. 15:8. Of the three formal narratives which allude to the parting of the waters of the Sea of Reeds that of J was present to the mind of the psalmist; and of the three formal narratives of the crossing of the Jordan that of J seems to have been specially in the mind of the psalmist.<sup>2</sup> We read in J that as those who bore the ark came down to the Jordan, "its waters rose up in a heap a great way

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ps. 77:17, though there is some doubt as to its having reference to the early time.

<sup>2</sup> In J we read that Yahweh caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all the night and made the bed of the sea dry. Both E and P remark simply that the waters were divided.



off and those that went down toward the Arabah were wholly cut off,"<sup>1</sup> while in E we are informed that Yahweh dried up the waters of the Jordan without being informed how it was done;<sup>2</sup> and in P we learn that the waters which came down from above stood still.<sup>3</sup>

There can be little doubt as to Ps. 74:15b:

Thou didst dry up everflowing streams,

for here we can see the influence of E.

Ps. 66:6b may not refer to the crossing of the Jordan, as some have thought, for it seems to be an integral part of the first line of the verse. The Hebrew is: *בְּנַהֲרֵי יַעֲבֹרוּ בִּרגְלָם*.<sup>4</sup> Here *נָהַר*, which is the common Hebrew word for "stream," has the force, as in Jonah 2:4, of "flood."

Among all the passages in the Psalms which are reminiscent of the conquest, Ps. 44:2-4 is most remarkable for its comprehensiveness:

We have heard with our ears, O Elohim,  
Our fathers have told us,  
The work thou didst in their days,  
In the days of old.  
With thy hand thou didst dispossess the nations, and plant them;  
Thou didst afflict the peoples, and cause them to spread abroad,  
For they conquered not the land by their own sword,  
Nor did their own arm save them,  
But thy right hand and thine arm,  
And the light of thy countenance,  
Because thou hadst pleasure in them.

As in Ps. 78:3 there is naught said here that would lead us to believe that the psalmist lived in the days when oral traditions of the conquest were in vogue, for undeniably the psalm is Maccabean.<sup>5</sup> The passage is one which in a general way alludes to the narratives of their people's past. Indeed the words which follow these lines are such as reveal the psalmist's dependence upon Deuteronomy, a book which though post-Exilic must have seemed old to the writer of this psalm.

Because the Hebrews had intermarried with the Canaanites and had in consequence, as perchance the more virile stock, absorbed

<sup>1</sup> Josh. 3:16b.

<sup>2</sup> Josh. 3:14, 17b.

<sup>3</sup> Josh. 3:16a.

<sup>4</sup> "And they passed through the flood on foot."

<sup>5</sup> More might be said in favor of considering Ps. 78:3a a reference to oral tradition, but even here it is presumable that the psalmist made use of poetic license.



them, the psalmist may naturally have supposed that the early Hebrews had actually dispossessed all the inhabitants of the land. The passages in which it was said that this would not be done, or had not been done, upon entrance into the land, were overlooked;<sup>1</sup> while the passages in which it was said it was so done, as Josh. 23:9 (D), were taken as true to fact.

Whether we ever are warranted in rendering the Hebrew verb **עָרַשׁ** in such passages "cast out" may seriously be questioned. Were it not for the use of **עָרַשׁ** in kindred passages, which we shall consider later, we could hardly find any reason for supposing that the late writers thought of the Hebrews as driving the Canaanites out of the land. However, it is likely that to a psalmist of the late time a dispossessed and afflicted people would seem to be a people that must in time cease to be. The verb in the second line of this verse manifestly should be rendered "afflict" rather than "destroy" or "hew down." It is the Hiphil of **רָעַע**. The word with which the first line closes, **וַתְּטַעֲם**, "and plant them," must refer to the Hebrews. It is in accord with other statements concerning them, 80:9, a parallel one, and 80:15 f., where Israel is called a vine that Yahweh had planted.<sup>2</sup> Briggs suggested that we may regard "nations" as the object of the verb which we may translate "send them forth";<sup>3</sup> but this is not to be accepted and Briggs himself does not favor it. What is here said of **וַתְּטַעֲם** applies with equal force to **וַתְּשַׁלְּחֵם**, "and spread them abroad." It is in perfect accord with the old narratives to say that the Hebrews, as they entered the land and made conquest of it, spread abroad therein.

In Ps. 106:34 we read:

They did not exterminate the nations,  
Concerning whom Yahweh commanded them.

This psalmist seems to have been conversant with Judges, chapter 1, etc., as well as with allusions in the late literature to Canaanite cities. He knew that the Canaanites were not all put out of the way in the early time and that in consequence their pernicious influence was long felt among the Hebrews, yet he knew also that

<sup>1</sup> See Josh. 13:13; 15:63; 16:10; 17:13; Judg. 1:19; etc., all J passages.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jer. 11:17 and Isa. 5:2.

<sup>3</sup> See Ps. 80:9; Jer. 17:8.



certain of the narratives which purported to be ancient records of the conquest represented Yahweh as having ordered this.<sup>1</sup>

The lines, 44:4a:

For they conquered not the land by their own sword,  
Nor did their own arm save them,

convey the thought that Israel's conquest of the land was not by might of arms. This reflects the idea of Josh. 24:12 (E); and it is in harmony with what is said here in verse 3 of this same psalm of Yahweh's great work in their behalf, though the stories of Israel's campaigns as recorded in Joshua and Judges speak of battles of considerable magnitude in which there was real fighting and in which Joshua and other leaders received credit for shrewd generalship. It would seem that the psalmist was more desirous of exalting Yahweh in the thought and affections of his people than he was in getting hold of actual facts.

This appears forcibly in what was said of Yahweh's hand, arm, and flashing countenance, 4b. Here again we see the influence of the late poetry, for the lines seem to be reminiscent of Exod. 15:6, 12, especially as regards Yahweh's hand and arm, and at the same time reminiscent of Deuteronomy which makes much of Yahweh's hand and arm. The flashing of Yahweh's countenance may very truly be looked upon as one of his sources of power in war against Israel's enemies.<sup>2</sup>

The closing line of 44:4:

Because thou hadst pleasure in them,  
may reveal dependence upon Deut. 4:37a, "Because he loved their fathers," and 10:15, a kindred passage, though it is not the reason most frequently given for Yahweh's deliverance of Israel.<sup>3</sup>

Ps. 80:9, 10 is in many ways parallel to the lines we have been considering, though the figure of the vine is introduced and is used very effectively. Here we are told Yahweh did drive out the nations, for this is the force of the Piel of גָּרַשׁ. Driver so translates the verb in his study of Deut. 33:27, though he translates גָּרַשׁ, "to dispossess," as we do, and he tells us that the old rendering, "to cast out," is unfortunate.<sup>4</sup> The verb גָּרַשׁ is found in Ps. 78:55

<sup>1</sup> Deut. 7:2, 23; 20:16; etc.

<sup>2</sup> See Isa. 10:17; 30:27.

<sup>3</sup> See Exod. 9:16; 14:17, 18; Ezek. 20:9, 14; 36:22; Ps. 106:8.

<sup>4</sup> See "Commentary on Deuteronomy," *I. C. C.*, *in loco*.



where it should be rendered "cast out." Both passages may reveal dependence upon Deut. 33:27, late poetry, as well as upon the priestly narrative of Joshua, and perchance Josh. 24:18 (E).<sup>1</sup> Indeed we may remark that there are two E passages that may have influenced the psalmist, for they not only have שָׁרָף but they represent Yahweh as assuring the Hebrews that he will send hornets before them to drive out the Canaanites.<sup>2</sup> Then, too, this rendering accords with the line which follows, 80:10a:

Thou didst clear a place before her.

Yahweh did this, in the thought of the psalmist, by driving out the nations. This, according to his thought, prepared the way for the Hebrews to enter and settle in Canaan. It was thus that the opportunity of the vine came, 80:10b:

So that she took root and filled the land.

This is followed, as the allegory is wrought out, by beautiful and suggestive lines:

The mountains were covered with the shadow thereof  
And the cedars of God with her boughs.  
She sent forth her branches unto the sea  
And her shoots unto the river.

These lines, verses 11, 12, really are complementary to the thought of verse 10b, "and she filled the land." This expansion of the Hebrews did not come, as their annals reveal, until the days of David and Solomon.<sup>3</sup> The psalmist, in speaking of the conquest of the land, allowed himself to bring the two together, the era of conquest and that of expansion and consolidation.

In Ps. 78:55 there is a strong resemblance to the passage we have been considering; but there are also differences. The first line is substantially the same as the first line in 44:4. The second line reads:

And allotted them a measured inheritance.

This may be considered reminiscent of Josh. 23:4 (D); but however this may be there is no question as to the influence of the priestly narrative. It is significant that the same verb appears here that

<sup>1</sup> שָׁרָף is common in JE, but not in D.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. 23:28; Josh. 24:12; cf. Deut. 7:20.

<sup>3</sup> See II Sam. 8:3f.; I Kings 4:24.



we find in Josh. 13:6 (D) and 23:4 (D), נפל, which in the Hiphil has the force of "to allot," and the noun, נחלה, is the same that appears there.

We are told, verse 55c:

And he made the tribes of Israel to dwell in tents.

We may not be as ready as Briggs to consider these words a late gloss, for they are quite what we might expect the psalmist to add. The word נחלה here is equivalent to "dwelling" or "habitation," as in Ps. 69:26.<sup>1</sup> The thought of the psalmist is that the nomads became a settled people, having their lands and homes as agriculturists. This is in thorough accord with the old narratives.<sup>2</sup>

The oracle in Ps. 60:8-12 is justly thought to go back to the conquest of Canaan. It begins with the lines:

Yahweh promised by his holiness, I will exult,  
I will divide Shechem<sup>3</sup> and mete out the valley of Succoth.<sup>4</sup>

We can say very little for this part of the oracle save, as Cheyne remarked, Shechem stands for the west and Succoth for the east. The oracle appears to refer back to the division of the land under Joshua as directed by Moses prior to the entrance of the Hebrews into Canaan. This is according to the late priestly narrative.<sup>5</sup> The different parts of the land, including Moab, Edom, and Philistia, all apparently in his time under Israelitish domination, are characterized by the psalmist as we would expect to find one living in the late time had characterized them.

In Ps. 105:44 we are told concerning Yahweh:

And he gave them the land of the nations,  
And they inherited the labor of the peoples.

The first statement, that the land was the gift of Yahweh to his people, is in substantial agreement with lines already considered; but the statement that follows adds a thought that is new to the Psalms, though it seems to have been a natural inference from the first line; for, if the Hebrews inherited the land of the Canaanites, then they must, in the thought of the psalmist, have inherited the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. II Sam. 20:1.

<sup>2</sup> See Deut. 8:13; 11:31; 30:20.

<sup>3</sup> This allusion may be to Josh. 24:1 (E).

<sup>4</sup> Num. 32:29 (P).

<sup>5</sup> Num. 32 and 33.



growing crops of their fields and the fruits of their vineyards and olive orchards as E and D suggest.<sup>1</sup>

VII. REMINISCENCES FROM THE NARRATIVES OF THE LIFE AND REIGN OF DAVID

There are few allusions to Israel's past between the period of the settlement and the time of David who to the psalmists was the most commanding figure of their people's annals. It is to only one psalm that we are largely indebted for reminiscences of the time of the Judges. In this the psalmist goes on to say, 78:56 f., after remarking that Yahweh cast out the nations, divided the land among the Hebrews, and caused their tribes to dwell in their habitations, that they tempted and rebelled against Elohim the Most High and kept not his testimonies but turned aside and dealt deceitfully like their fathers, provoking him with their high places and making him jealous with their graven images. Because of this he forsook the tabernacle in Shiloh, the tent which he had placed among them, and gave his strength, his glory, i.e., the Ark, into captivity, into the hands of the enemy. Because he was wroth against his inheritance, verses 63 f.:

The fire consumed their young men,  
And their maidens were not praised in marriage song.  
Their priests fell by the sword;  
And their widows made no lamentation.

It was in accord with Judg. 2:11, 12 (D), and 20 (E), that Israel was said to have been false to her God and to have turned back and angered him by serving Baal and Astarte during the centuries which followed their entrance into Canaan; though neither E nor P mention high places nor graven images as offensive to him. Shiloh seems to have fallen in esteem after its loss of the Ark in the days of Eli. In alluding to this loss and the death of the priests, the sons of Eli, the psalmist reveals his dependence on I Sam. 4:11 (E).

In Ps. 99:6 Samuel is mentioned with Moses and Aaron. All three are named as those who called upon Yahweh. This is true to history, for Samuel we know, like Moses, was great in intercessory prayer.<sup>2</sup> Aaron was supposed to be so gifted as one who was consecrated as a high priest.

<sup>1</sup> Deut. 6:10, 11; Josh. 24:13 (E).

<sup>2</sup> See I Sam. 7:9; 12:18 (E).



In dwelling upon the reminiscences of David found in the Psalter we must pass by the titles of a considerable number of the earlier psalms. These titles are late and so far as they refer to David are valueless. We can consider as reminiscent of the king only those allusions which are an integral part of the psalms in which they appear.

Following the words of Psalm 78 which refer to the defeat of Israel and the loss of the Ark is a striking allusion to its recovery which, as it goes on, leaps over the years and ends with the statement that it was placed in Yahweh's sanctuary in Jerusalem which he was said to have constructed. This was none other than the temple of Solomon. It is just here that we are introduced to David in a reminiscence that is very suggestive, verses 70-72.

He chose David his servant  
And took him from the sheepfolds,  
From following the nursing ewes he took him  
To shepherd Jacob his people, Israel his inheritance.  
So he fed them according to the integrity of his heart;  
And with the skill of his hands he guided them.

In another psalm David is referred to, as here, as Yahweh's "servant."<sup>1</sup> Abraham and Moses, as we have seen, were so designated in Ps. 105:6, 26, 42. Such designation of David is in harmony with II Sam. 3:18; 7:5 (J); etc. The fact that David was chosen by Yahweh appears, as here, in Ps. 89:21, 22. Both allusions of these psalms are reminiscent of I Sam. 16:11, 12 (D) and II Sam. 7:8 (D), where we are told how David was taken from his sheep. The psalmist in Psalm 78 appears to have had the latter passage specially in mind as it speaks of him as taken from the sheepfold, while the former passage alludes to him as taken from keeping the sheep. The psalmist mentions the purpose of Yahweh's choice of David, verse 71b, to shepherd Jacob his people,<sup>2</sup> Israel his inheritance. The first part of this line is not only a legitimate inference from the story of the reign of David but it is in harmony with II Sam. 5:2 and in almost the same words; *אֶתָּה חֲרִצָּה אֶת־עַמִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל*, II Sam. 5:2b, *לִרְעוֹת בִּיעֲקֹב עַמּוֹ*, Ps. 78:71b. Israel is frequently referred to in the Psalms as "the inheritance of Yahweh";<sup>3</sup> but Israel is so referred to also in I Sam. 10:1 (J), where

<sup>1</sup> 89:4, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ezek. 34:23.

<sup>3</sup> 28:9; 33:12; 68:10; etc.



Samuel is spoken of as anointing Saul to be captain over "his" (i.e., Yahweh's) inheritance and in the prayer of Solomon, I Kings 8:51 (D). Therefore we may say that the psalmist is in accord with the old narratives in thus speaking of Israel.

The next verse, verse 72, is reminiscent of I Kings 9:4 (D). Though the context differs somewhat, one phrase, and that, too, one having to do with David, is practically the same. In Ps. 78:72 we have כָּחַם-לִבָּב; while in I Kings 9:4 we have בָּחַם לִבָּב. Briggs, in dwelling upon this psalmist's words concerning David, very truly says: "This is an idealization of the reign of David in the style of the Chronicler and later writings, overlooking and ignoring the blots upon his reign, as recorded in the primitive prophetic history." While this is true and while it is fairly presumable that this psalm is later than Chronicles, there seems to be no sign of dependence. Here as elsewhere the writers of the Psalms and the Chronicles went back to the old sources and selected what suited their purposes in their idealization of the story of David's life and reign.

Ps. 89:20 f., which is a free rendering of II Sam. 7:1 f. (D), begins by referring to a vision vouchsafed Yahweh's הַנָּבִיא, the prophet Nathan, as the original reveals.<sup>1</sup> The psalmist then goes on to quote what Yahweh is supposed to have said to the prophet:

I have laid strength upon a hero,  
I have exalted one chosen of the people.

There is nothing in the old narrative to correspond to the first part of this verse; but unmistakably the second part, as we have noted, refers to II Sam. 7:8. The next verse, verse 21, which represents Yahweh as reminding the prophet that he found David his servant and anointed him with the sacred oil, is reminiscent of I Sam. 16:11-13 (D). The remark that his hand is established with him and his arm doth strengthen him is purely imaginative, though the successes which David won would seem to excuse these words. The following verse, verse 22, is more manifestly reminiscent. It looks back to II Sam. 7:9 (D). The promise that the enemy shall not come upon him, nor the son of wrong afflict him, that Yahweh will smite those who hate him, may all be comprehended, verses 23, 24, in

<sup>1</sup> See II Sam. 7:17 (D).



the psalmist's thought in the words of Nathan to David. The assurance of Yahweh's faithfulness and mercy, verse 25, is warranted by II Sam. 7:15 (D), and the assurance that he will set his hand in the sea and his right hand on the rivers, verse 26, a suggestion as to the extent of David's reign, is true to the old narratives, though there is naught in Nathan's words of which they are reminiscent.

We are told in verse 27:

He shall cry unto me, my father,  
My God and the rock of my deliverance.

This finds warrant in II Sam. 7:14a,

I will be his father and he shall be my son,

though it is far more poetic and imaginative than the original, or than even I Chron. 17:13 which may have been in the mind of the late psalmist. The assurance that he is to be made Yahweh's first-born, higher than the kings of the earth, verse 28, is reminiscent of nothing in the narrative of David's life. Verse 29:

My kindness I will keep forever for him;  
And my covenant for him shall stand fast,

goes back to II Sam. 7:15; while the next verse in which there is the assurance that David's seed shall remain on his throne forever unquestionably takes us back to II Sam. 7:12, 13, 16, as do verses 36, 37.

The words of verses 29-33 in which the prophet is represented as saying what would happen if the king's descendants were unfaithful to Yahweh, finds some warrant in II Sam. 7:14-16. We should note especially a part of verse 14:

When he commits iniquity  
I will correct him with the rod of men  
And with the stripes of the sons of man;

and we should compare this with verse 33 of the psalm we are considering:

I will visit their transgression with the rod,  
And their iniquity with scourges.

So too should we note the resemblance between II Sam. 7:15a:

וְהָסֵדִי לֹא-יִסּוּר מִמֶּנִּי

and verse 34a of our psalm:

וְהָסֵדִי לֹא-אֶפִּיר מֵעַמּוֹ



The assurance of verse 35 that Yahweh would not break his promise (his covenant) is warranted. Indeed, of the whole section it may be said that it is a marvelous expansion of II Sam. 7:13-16. But verses 4, 5 of this psalm appear out of place and they certainly add nothing to the lines we have been considering.<sup>1</sup>

In verse 50 of this psalm there is a return in thought to the old promise made to Nathan, as the psalmist enters imaginatively into the sufferings of the pious Israel of his time. He asks:

Where are thy former kindnesses, Yahweh,  
Which thou didst swear unto David in thy faithfulness?

The question simply carries us back, as we already have been taken in this part of our study.

It would seem that in Psalm 132, as in Psalm 89, as Cheyne remarks, "Israel longs for the fulfillment of the ancient promises." Hence its Davidic character and its many reminiscences of the past. At the beginning Yahweh is petitioned to remember unto David all that he underwent. This is of a general character and refers, it would seem, to all that David suffered prior to lodging the sacred Ark in its tabernacle in Jerusalem, the story of which is told in II Samuel, chapter 6 (J). Then, as he becomes more explicit the psalmist speaks of an oath which he says David vowed, verses 3-5:

I will not enter into the tent of my house,  
Nor ascend the couch of my bed;  
I will not give sleep to my eyes,  
Nor slumber to my eyelids,  
Until I find a place for Yahweh,  
A habitation for the Mighty One of Jacob.

We have no record of such an oath on the part of David, although II Sam. 6:12 (D) furnishes a place for a resolve or something approaching an oath. The Ark had been in the house of Abinadab and David had brought it as far as the house of Obed-Edom when the slaying of Uzzah had led him to leave it. Having some time thereafter heard how the house of Obed-Edom had been blessed while harboring the Ark, David concluded to bring it up and lodge it in his city in accord with his original design. It was apparently this second resolve that the psalmist had in mind. Surely, too,

<sup>1</sup> There may be some doubt as to whether some of the foregoing passages in I and II Sam. are the work of D.



David's reply to his wife after she had rebuked him may be supposed to have suggested to the psalmist that on the part of the king there was something more than a determination to transfer the sacred chest to Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> The words of verse 5 of this psalm would lead us to infer that the psalmist overlooked the fact that the old narrative speaks of the king as having got ready for the Ark some time before.<sup>2</sup> The psalmist alludes to the people as having supposed that the Ark was at Ephrata, i.e., in Bethlehem or the country adjacent thereto, but as confessing that they had found it in the country of Jaar, or Kirjah-jearim. This agrees with I Chron. 13:5, 6; but it was from Kirjah-jearim that David had taken it when he brought it to the house of Obed-Edom. Manifestly the psalmist weaves the two narratives together.

The resolve which the psalmist puts in the mouth of the people, verse 7:

Let us enter his tabernacle,  
Let us worship at his footstool,

though imaginatively conceived, was in keeping with what must have been the spirit of the people upon the bringing up of the Ark to their holy city.<sup>3</sup> The exclamation, verse 8:

קוּמָה יְהוָה לְמִנוּחָתְךָ  
אַתָּה וְאַרְוֶיךָ עֹדֶךָ

Arise, Yahweh, unto thy resting-place,  
Thou and the ark of thy strength,

together with the next verse, though found in II Chron. 6:41, is presumably original here. It does not appear in II Samuel, chapter 6. The first part of it, the more significant part of the exclamation, is from Num. 10:35, קוּמָה יְהוָה, "Arise, Yahweh."

Verses 11, 12 of this psalm contain Yahweh's promise to David concerning the continuance of his house. This is in substantial agreement with Ps. 89:36 f.; and both passages are a very free rendering of II Sam. 7:11 f. The marks of the late date are seen in that the seed of David is supposed to be required to keep the priestly law. Nothing is said in II Samuel, chapter 7, of כְּרִיתִי וְעַדִּיתִי, "my covenant and my testimonies," but the assurance that Yahweh

<sup>1</sup> II Sam. 6:21f. (D).

<sup>2</sup> I cannot take מְקָמָה as Briggs does, as an allusion to the house of Obed-Edom.

<sup>3</sup> II Sam. 6:12.



hath chosen Zion which he hath desired as an habitation finds its warrant in II Sam. 7:1 f., in which David appears as manifesting a desire to build a temple and in Yahweh's promise that his seed shall build it. While the words put in the mouth of Yahweh are highly imaginative, they are not without reminiscences of words found in the early literature. The assurance, verse 17, that a horn would sprout for David discloses the fact that the writer lived at a time when there was no Davidic king and he shared with the prophets of his time the hope of one.<sup>1</sup> The declaration of the same verse, that he will set in order a lamp for his anointed, seems to be reminiscent of I Kings 11:36; II Kings 8:19.

There is an allusion to David in Ps. 144:10, which speaks of Yahweh as one who gave deliverance unto kings, which goes on to add:

And rescued David thy servant from the hurtful sword.

Presumably this is not a late gloss, as has been surmised, but rather a reminiscence of David's escape from the rebellion of Absalom and as such an integral part of the text of the psalm. A psalmist of the Maccabean time might very truly allude to this escape of the founder of the Davidic dynasty as suggesting the assurance that Yahweh would be the salvation of his anointed, pressed though he might be, if not whelmed, by the assaults of some foreign power.

There are many passages in the Psalms which reveal the fact that the larger part of the people were still in Exile, supposed to be suffering for the infidelity of their fathers to Yahweh, and many other passages which reveal that the people at home were in a pitiful state because they were under foreign domination, at the mercy of capricious, if not heartlessly cruel, satraps or governors of these same powers. There are other passages that allude to the great sufferings and indignities endured under Antiochus Epiphanes, and passages later still that joyously allude to wondrous deliverances vouchsafed in the later Maccabean time. But it seems best to close this study of the reminiscences of the old annals of the people's past with those which had to do with David. So many of their hopes of the coming day found points of contact with the

<sup>1</sup> See Psalms 2, 72, etc.; Ezek. 29:21; Jer. 23:5; Zech. 3:8; 6:12, etc.



records of David's life and achievements that the psalmists' reminiscences of the past were bound to culminate just here. This is emphatically true of most of the latest psalms. How far these psalmists were in their conceptions of their God and in their understanding of man's duty to man beyond the time of David they did not perceive, so had they and their contemporaries come to idealize that distant past. If they were uncritical and often in consequence untrustworthy here and elsewhere, as we must frankly admit they were, they nevertheless inspired the worshipers who used these psalms in their temple services and lifted them on to a higher plane of thought and action, and in doing so led many of them to dedicate their lives to noble humanitarian efforts, if not indeed to high exploits. The Hebrew Psalter would never have become the one incomparable book of devotion which the ancient world has passed on to us had it not been for its uncritical and inspirational character. And now, despite all our illuminating critical study, we are not going to allow ourselves to depreciate in any way the worshipful value of most of these psalms.

But if we face without loss the fact that the psalmists accepted the imaginative narratives of their people's past and made the most happy use thereof, may we not quite as surely insist that their use of late narratives, which to us is proof positive that they lived and did their work in psalmody in the late time, does not impair the value of their product to the world? To find that they made large use of the priestly parts of the Hexateuch and that they drew much of their material from late idealizations of the life and career of David and in doing so reveal that their work was done during the centuries of foreign domination, that indeed not a little of it belongs to the Maccabean age, should give the world a nobler conception of their work. That they, living as they did, facing the difficulties they had to face, enduring the reproaches they had to endure, bearing the burdens they had to bear, suffering as they had to suffer, could sound inspiringly the note of joy, of hope, of faith, of confidence, exalts them in our eyes and leads us to ask if these men, unknown to us save through their psalmody, may not wisely be regarded by us as our teachers as well as the leaders of our devotional exercises.



## A SONG FROM THE NEGEB

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In the summer of 1882 occurred the rebellion of 'Arabi, the Egyptian, against the British. On the eve of this uprising, the famous oriental scholar, Edward Henry Palmer, known far and wide among the peoples of Egypt and Sinai as Sheikh Abdullah or Abdullah Effendi, was given the task of winning over to Great Britain the Arab tribes of Sinai. He made two expeditions. On the first, which lasted from July 15 to July 31, he made his way without escort from Gaza through the desert to Suez, a remarkable exploit. His negotiations on this trip were highly successful, for he seems to have won over the Bedu of the whole region to the British. He was now appointed interpreter-in-chief to the forces in Egypt, and with hardly any rest from his previous trip, was again sent into the desert, this time starting from Suez. He was accompanied by Captain W. J. Gill and Flag-Lieutenant Harold Charrington, the objects being to procure camels and to gain the friendship of the sheikhs by presents of money. On the eleventh of August he and his companions were betrayed and murdered in Wadi Sudr. Accounts differ as to the manner of their death, and very few travelers have since heard of them from the mouths of the Arabs of that region. It may not, then, be uninteresting to give, in the dialect of the Negeb, an Arab song containing a brief reference to this famous scholar, who, when only forty-two years of age, gave his life and career for Britain.

During the spring and early summer of 1905, the Director and members of the American School in Jerusalem made a study of the Negeb and surrounding regions.<sup>1</sup> The director for the year was Professor Nathaniel Schmidt, of Cornell University; the students were Messrs. Olmstead and Wrench and the author.

<sup>1</sup> The main results of this work have been recorded in two articles by Professor Schmidt: "Kadesh Barnea," *JBL*, XXIX (1910), 61-76, and "The 'Jerahmeel' Theory and the Historic Importance of the Negeb," *Hibbert Journal*, VI (1908), 322-42.



Journeying south from Beersheba, we finally camped, on the evening of May 26, at the edge of the plateau which overlooks 'Ain Gadís and the remarkable sweep of desert to the south. Early on the following morning our camel-drivers and muleteers descended to the springs to water the animals, and, on returning, declared that the Arabs were gathering at the springs to prevent us from coming down. The muleteers had mentioned the fact that we were accompanied by a Turkish soldier, whereupon, according to their report, the Arabs had cursed the government. Our *zaptié*, Mustafa, then informed us that two of his fellows from Bîr el-Seba<sup>c</sup> had been killed here, some time previously, while attempting to collect taxes, the government later imprisoning five of those supposed to have been ringleaders in the murder. Something very evidently had to be done immediately, and Mustafa accordingly left his rifle at the tent and descended to parley with the Arabs. He soon returned with a friend of his, an old but lithe and agile man named Frêj ibn 'Id Sâlih (فرج بن عبد صالح), and reported that the matter was settled. We were well content to hear the terms, for during his absence we had seen armed Arabs coming from various parts toward the springs. The people first gave as their objection to our visit the statement that they feared we might cast a magic spell on the water. The real reason, however, soon appeared. We had on the previous day engaged a guide and informant at a well in Wadi Haffr, a man of the 'Azâzime tribe. The Bedu of the Gadís region are a branch of the Tiyâha, called the Berekât, and they declared it was not right for a man of another tribe to guide us through their territory. The 'Azâzime guide accordingly left us after asking one of our party to swear by his greatest prophet not to bewitch him on his homeward way.<sup>1</sup> During the remainder of our sojourn in the lands

<sup>1</sup> The Arabs of the whole region are very superstitious. It was impossible for the author to purchase an old stone pipe from one of the 'Azâzime without first swearing that he would not use it as a means for holding a spell over the poor fellow. The pipe was, naturally, as much a part of him as the clothes he wore day and night; and, as every Bedawi knows, an enemy needs only the possession of a stray rag of a man's clothing to work him woe. Another member of the party was presented with a young owl near the ruins of Sa'adi and, despite the protests and dire predictions of the camel-drivers, insisted on carrying it along. Two days later, at Beersheba, the drivers demanded their pay, refusing to make the further trip to Jerusalem by way of 'Ain Jidi. From this time on, "*kullo min el-bûmi*," "It's all because of the owl," became a by-word among the remaining members of the outfit.



of the Tiyâha, Frêj acted as our guide; and a more intelligent man could hardly have been found for the purpose.

While sitting in the shade of the tent shortly after engaging Frêj, we produced the phonograph and, after giving the Arabs a few selections, asked whether one of them could not give us a story or a song for our collection. Frêj volunteered, though he hesitated to sing without his *rubâbe*, a one-stringed violin, the favorite musical instrument of the region. We noticed that one line of his song mentioned a *gunsul kebîr* and, when he had concluded, inquired who this "great consul" was. The Arabs sitting about answered, almost in a voice, "Shêkh 'Abdullâh," the name by which Palmer was so well known. Our visitors of the Tiyâha apparently had a great contempt for the murderer of the "great consul." According to them, Muţair, the father of the Arab mentioned in the song, killed Palmer for the money he was carrying and not because of his political errand. No mention was made of Palmer's companions.

Two transcriptions of the song have been given. The first follows the unscientific method of combining English consonants, in their most common values, with Italian vowels, and helping out with diacritical marks. The other is the system of the Association phonétique internationale. In the former the values of sounds foreign to English are represented as follows:

h =	ح
kh =	خ
s =	ص
d =	ض
t =	ط
c (the reversed apostrophe) =	ع
gh =	غ
g represents a sonant corresponding to	ق
' (the apostrophe) represents elision	

The glottal stop (*hamza*) has not been represented in the transliteration, since it does not appear in the song as a significant sound.

Unstressed *a*, *e*, and *u* have at times the value of *a* in "private" or *e* in "the," when uttered in unaffected conversation or reading.

Vowels with circumflex are stressed and long in quantity.



First transcription:<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Ya rākib min fōg ghōj  
Timirr el-baṭn min kuthr el-khaḍṭr;
- 3 Ya rākib min fōg ghōj  
Mitl es-sagr yōman yetṭr;
- 5 Ya rākib ʿala ʔṭ-ṭarṭg el-kuzzi,  
Yilfī ilbak ʿala bēt el-faḡṭr.
- 7 Sellim ʿalē bi selām u būse,  
Sellim ʿalē min jūw eḡ-ḡamṭr.
- 9 Aḡad Allā ma bēnī u bēnak,  
Aḡad Allā el-yōm el-kebṭr.
- 11 Ibn Muṭair yʔḡāwid ʿan jenābo;  
Abū ḡablu ḡabaʿ ḡungul kebṭr.
- 13 In kân ma yufārig jenābo,  
Rudd rai P'Ibn ʿAmr el-kebṭr;
- 15 Wa thānī rai P'Ibn ʿAmr Sālim,  
Yaʿrif el-ḡerī, rāḡil shawṭr.
- 17 Wa thālith rai Pakbar et-Tiyāha,  
Abu ʿAbdūn maʿ ḡarba ṭarṭra,  
Yehūṭṭ el-bāl ʿala ʔsh-shēkh esh-shaḡṭr.
- 20 Abu Rḡayyig fāris u kāmīl,  
Yefūkh el-khēl bi ʔs-sēf eṭ-ṭarṭr.
- 22 Ibn ʿAṭiyye ḡadūs el-meshāyekh,  
ʿAdu ʔr-rāwi li ʔṭ-ṭarsh el-ketṭr.
- 24 Wa ʔl-Khʔzēyil hū shēkh el-meshāyekh,  
ʿInd et-tanīb hū ḡāki ḡaḡṭr.
- 26 Amma Tallāb, maʿu sēfu muḡayyagh;  
Yehūsh el-khēl buṭākhī ʔl-ketṭr.
- 28 Amma Jebr, hū eḡmāt el-fuwēris,  
Baḡr ṭāmi tismaʿ lu haḡṭr.
- 30 Abu Shunnār hū ʔstumm el-fuwēris,  
Yukhtub el-khēl ʿala ʔj-jemʿ al-ketṭr.

<sup>1</sup> As the footnotes on the text deal largely with phonetics, they have been given in connection with the second transcription.



- 32 Ibn Tallāg negyi ʔl-fuwêris;  
Maʕu jûhar ya wuzn kethîr.
- 34 Abu Rabîʕa hû ehmât el-fuwêris;  
ʕInd el-ḥukûm ḥakyu tagîl.

## Second transcription:

- 1 ja 'ra:kib min fo:ɣ ɣo:dʒ  
ʔə'mirr<sup>1</sup> əl baʔn min kuθr əl xa'qî:r
- 3 ja 'ra:kib min fo:ɣ ɣo:dʒ  
mitl əsagr<sup>2</sup> 'jo:mən jə'ʔî:r
- 5 ja 'ra:kib qala ʔa'ri:ɣ əl 'kazzî<sup>3</sup>  
'jîlfi ilbak<sup>4</sup> qala<sup>5</sup> be:t əl fa'gi:r
- 7 'sellim qa'le: bi sə'la:m u<sup>6</sup> 'bu:sə  
'sellim qa'le: min dʒu:w əḍa'mi:r
- 9 'aḥad al'la: ma 'be:ni u 'be:nak  
'aḥad al'la: əl jo:m əl ke'bi:r<sup>7</sup>
- 11 ibm<sup>8</sup> mu'ʔair jə'ḥa:wid qan dʒə'na:bo<sup>9</sup>  
a'bu: 'gablu 'ḍabaq 'gungəl ke'bi:r

<sup>1</sup> It has not seemed necessary to distinguish two forms of *r* in the present article. The *r* in *ʔə'mirr* had a slightly accentuated trill; hence the doubling.

<sup>2</sup> Note that the letter *s* is not here represented as doubled. The "intensification" marked by *teshdid* is not consistently carried out in the pronunciation of modern Arabic, especially in cases of the assimilated *l* of the definite article. When actually reproduced, the sound is the equivalent of the "doubling" heard in such words as Italian *fatto*. Throughout the present transcription, only actual occurrences of such "doubling" in the guide's pronunciation have been recorded.

<sup>3</sup> The *h* so commonly employed in transcribing the feminine ending *-ah* (*-eh*), the personal ending *-uh* (*-oh*), and the final syllable of the word *Allah* has not been used in the present transcriptions, since it is not pronounced. The *h* is, of course, heard in the exclamatory *Allah!* and in other words whose final radical is *h* as well as in a few exclamations like *a:h* and *o:h* (the latter with lax *o*), but a final *h* sound is comparatively infrequent.

<sup>4</sup> Note the transposition of *l* and *b*. This phenomenon is not uncommon in Arabic.

<sup>5</sup> The use of *على* for *الى* with the verb *لفى* follows a general tendency, in Syrian Arabic, toward the use of the preposition *على* with verbs of *going, coming, and arriving*, such as *اتى. راج. وصل.*

<sup>6</sup> The conjunction *wa* (*و*) often becomes *u*, especially when followed by a labial, as is likewise frequently the case in the vernacular of Palestine and Syria. This *u* has about the quality of English *u*: but is short in quantity.

<sup>7</sup> Observe the poverty of vocabulary and lack of poetic consciousness as instanced by the word *kebi:r* used at the end of three consecutive couplets; and, later, the repetition of *ʔari:r* and *kebi:r*.

<sup>8</sup> *ibm muʔair*, a case of assimilation both progressive and regressive, though perhaps predominantly regressive, since the *n* of *ibn*, as a rule, rather tends to assert itself.



- 13 in ka:n ma jə'fa:rig dʒə'na:bo  
 ʔrudd ʔrai libn qamr əl kə'bi:r
- 15 wə 'θa:ni rai libn qamr 'sa:lim  
 'jaqrif əl ɬəri 'ra:dʒl fə'wi:r<sup>1</sup>
- 17 wə 'θa:liθ rai 'lakbar ət'i'ja:ha  
 'abu qab'du:n maq 'harba tʃa'ri:ra  
 jəhu:t əl ba:l qala fe:x əfa'hi:r
- 20 'abur'gajig 'fa:ris u 'ka:mil  
 jə'fux<sup>2</sup> əl xe:l bis'se:f ətʃa'ri:r
- 22 ibn qa'tijje ga'du:s əl mə'fa:jəx  
 'qadur'rə:wi<sup>3</sup> li'tʃarf əl kə'ti:r
- 24 wəl-x<sup>4</sup>ze:jil hu<sup>4</sup> fe:x əl mə'fa:jəx  
 qund<sup>4</sup> ətə'ni:b hu 'ha:ki gə'gi:r
- 26 'amma tʃal'la:b 'maqu 'se:fə<sup>5</sup> mə'ʃajjaɬ  
 jə'hu:f əl xe:l bu'ta:xil-kə'ti:r<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> fə'wi:r, a قَعِيل form from *med.* شارو on the analogy of طویل and the like.  
 Either a provincialism or a case of poetic license.

<sup>2</sup> jə'fuz for literary يَفُض. The u in this case had the value of the vowel in the English word *took* (*tuk*). The change from i to u was doubtless due chiefly to the influence of the long, stressed u: in the noun يَانُوح, which is more common than the verb.

This same influence may have aided in determining the stress, which in the dialects to the north would in this case fall on the first syllable. However, we must here reckon also with a peculiarity of Negeb Arabic which constantly drew our attention. The Bedu of this region seem to have little regard for fixed stress, particularly in words containing only short vowels. For example, the name of a certain mountain pass,

ذَنْب الْعَيْر, was called indifferently Dhīnib el-ʿAir (*ʔinib əl-Qair*), Dhīnib el-ʿAir (*ʔi'nib əl-Qair*), Idhnib el-ʿAir (*ið'nib əl-Qair*) and İdhnib el-ʿAir (*ið'nib əl-Qair*). The same held true, though less frequently, in words with long vowels, as in the name عِنْقَام. Enēgā (*Qene:Ga:*), which was sometimes stressed on the last syllable, the final vowel being in that case followed by the glottal stop (*hamza*), and sometimes on the second syllable without final *hamza*. This disregard of fixed stress occurred not only in proper names and isolated phrases, but in ordinary discourse.

<sup>3</sup> rə:wi. The r:, though long, is not the tense r: of English *awl* (*ɔ:t*), but the lax form of the vowel, as in *hot* (*hɔt*). The rounding is due to the influence of the labial.

<sup>4</sup> The short u in *hu* has about the quality of u: in English *boot* (*bu:t*).

<sup>5</sup> This seems the closest possible approximation to the usual pronunciation of the word عِنْد. The tongue position is that assumed in producing tense u, while the lip position is slightly closer than for the production of a.

<sup>6</sup> This was doubtless one of the cases where Frēj used the nunation in singing, omitting it later when repeating the poem to the author. The words as heard in the song might then be transcribed se:fə məʃajjaɬ<sup>7</sup>, though in the case of se:fə the nasal was more probably assimilated to the following m, since no nunation was noticed except in the closing syllable of a line.

<sup>7</sup> When pronounced distinctly كَثِير and كَبِير always have ε rather than e as the vowel of the first syllable.



- 28 'amma dʒebr hu əh'ma:t<sup>1</sup> əl fu'we:ris  
baħr 'tami tis'maq lu ha'di:r
- 30 'abu fun'na:r hu sʔum əl fu'we:ris  
'juxtub<sup>2</sup> əl xe:l 'qala 'dʒemq al ke'ti:r
- 32 ibn ʔal'la:g 'neɟjil<sup>3</sup>-fu'we:ris  
'maqu 'dʒu:har ja wuzn ke'θi:r
- 34 'abu rə'bi:qa hu əh'ma:t əl fu'we:ris  
qund əl hu'kam<sup>4</sup> 'ħakju<sup>4</sup> tə'gi:l

The Arabic:

- 1 يا راکب من فوق غوم  
طمر البطن من کثر الخضی  
3 يا راکب من فوق غوم  
مثل السقر یوماً یطیر  
5 يا راکب على الطریق الکثرة  
یلفی ابلک على بیت الفقیر  
7 ستم علیه بسلام وبوسة  
ستم علیه من جو الضمیر  
9 احد الله ما بینی وبنک  
احد الله الیوم الکبیر

<sup>1</sup> əh'ma:t, i.e., حماة with prosthetic *alif*. A فَعَلَة form from حَمَى on the analogy of infinitives like شَكَاة. The word is not found in literary Arabic.

<sup>2</sup> juxtub for jazdub; *d* becomes *t* through progressive assimilation. The change from *a* to *u* is perhaps due in part to the elevation of the back of the tongue in forming *z*. However, it would be vain to attempt to explain, on purely phonetic grounds, all such variations in the vowelings of the imperfect.

<sup>3</sup> Note the transposition of *i*.

<sup>4</sup> Outside of the Negeb the author has not heard a distinct *ʔ* vowel (like Eng. *u* in cup) among Arabic-speaking peoples. In the case of *Hu'kam* (which was almost *Ho'kam*) we have, as a result of the shifting of the stress, the expansion of syllabic *m* into a vocalic syllable. The same *ʔ* sound appears in the fifth line of the song (*kaʔsi*) and was also heard in the topographical name *Jebel Yeldg* (ʔe'laG), where again we note a shifting of the stress.

<sup>5</sup> This form of infinitive from حَكَى, though not classically recognized, is sufficiently common in modern dialects of Arabic.



- 11 ابن مطير يحاود عن جنابه  
ابوه قبله ضبع قنصل كبير
- 13 ان كان ما يفارق جنابه  
ردّ راى لابن عمرو الكبير
- 15 وثانى راى لابن عمرو سالم  
يعرف الحرى رجل شوير
- 17 وثالث راى لأكبر التياهة  
ابو عبدون مع حربة طريرة
- يحوط البال على الشيخ الشهير
- 20 ابو رقيق فارس وكامل  
يأفخ الحيل بالسيف الطير
- 22 ابن عطية قدوس المشايخ  
عدو الراوى للطرش الكثير
- 24 والخزائل هو شيخ المشايخ  
عند التأنيب هو حاكى قصير
- 26 اما طلاب معه سيف مصيغ  
يحوش الحيل بطاخي الكثير
- 28 اما جبر هو حماة الفوارس  
بحر طام تسمع له هدير
- 30 ابو شتار هو اسطمّ الفوارس  
يخدب الحيل على الجمع الكثير
- 32 ابن طلائى نقى الفوارس  
معه جوهر يا وزن كثير
- 34 ابو ربيعة هو حماة الفوارس  
عند الحكم حكيه ثقيل



A rather literal translation would read as follows:

- 1 Thou rider on a supple steed,<sup>1</sup>  
Ample<sup>2</sup> of paunch from abundance of fodder;
- 3 Thou rider on a supple steed,  
Like the falcon when it flies;
- 5 Thou rider on the hard road,  
May thy camel turn in at the tent of the poor.<sup>3</sup>
- 7 Greet him with a salaam and a kiss,<sup>4</sup>  
Greet him from within the heart.
- 9 There is one God as between me and thee,  
One God there is on the great day.
- 11 Ibn Muṭair keeps annoying him;<sup>5</sup>  
His father before him smote a great consul.
- 13 If he does not keep away from him,  
Consult with Ibn ʿAmr, the elder;

<sup>1</sup> The adjective غوج, from غاج, "to bend, incline," is applied as an epithet to horses, camels, and men. It ranges in meaning from "litho" to "swift"; hence the above translation.

<sup>2</sup> The word طمر as applied to a horse is usually rendered "fleet, active" and the like. As applied to an animal's paunch it seems preferable to take the meaning "swollen, ample," which the verb permits.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly the adjective is here used as a proper name, el-Faqlr.

<sup>4</sup> The Persian word بوسه is widely used among Arabic-speaking peoples. In the Negeb the *seldm* without the kiss is the usual *seldm* 'aldkum with the response wa 'aldkum es-seldm, both uttered, as a rule, in a very matter-of-fact manner and often in a mere undertone. Added to this, in the case of two friends who have not seen each other for several days or longer, is a weak handclasp, amounting to little more than a touching of the right palms, and a kiss which, so far as the observation of the author goes, consists merely in each person's inclining his head just past his friend's face and smacking his own lips. The greeting thus partakes both of the nature of a kiss and of a "falling on the neck." No doubt the actual kiss on the left cheek is sufficiently common also. Men greet their male friends with the *bāse* and women those of their own sex, but it is only in the case of relatives that two of different sex exchange this greeting. There is, of course, no display of shyness or embarrassment in connection with such a kiss.

<sup>5</sup> I.e., "keeps annoying the poor man." In view of the preposition عن, the author was at first inclined to translate this passage "Ibn Muṭair avoids him," deriving this meaning from form III of the verb (حيد). However, it seems preferable, as suggested by Mr. Martin Sprengling, to retain the meaning of the corresponding form of (حون), "return upon . . . like fever" (here rendered "annoy"), which accords better with the sentiment of the following couplet. Neither (حون) nor (حيد) (form III) is in literary Arabic followed by a preposition.



- 15 And a second consultation with Ibn 'Amr Sâlim,  
Who knows what is fitting, a man to be consulted;
- 17 And a third consultation with the greatest of the Tiyâha,<sup>1</sup>  
Abu 'Abdûn, with the sharp lance,  
Who guards his secret against the famous shêkh.
- 20 Abu Ruqayyiq is a knight through and through,  
Who cleaves the skulls of the horsemen with his sharp sword.
- 22 Ibn 'Atiyye is the bold one of the shêkhs,  
The enemy of the water-drawer because of his many flocks.
- 24 And el-Khazâ'il is shêkh of the shêkhs;  
When it comes to reproaching, he is a man of few words.
- 26 As for Tallâb, he has a sword of the goldsmith's art;  
He rounds up the horses, plump for the most part.
- 28 As for Jebr, he is the protection of the knights,  
A swelling sea, whose roaring thou mayest hear.
- 30 Abu Shunnâr is the noble one of the knights;  
He smites the horsemen despite their great numbers.
- 32 Ibn Tallâq is the pick of the knights,  
Wearing a Damascene blade of great weight.
- 34 Abu Rabî'a is the protection of the knights;  
In judgment his words are weighty.

Our guide's pronunciation was far from consistent. Both in singing and in conversation he used a pure back *a:* with the consonant *r*,<sup>2</sup> and practically the same sound with the so-called gutturals. With the "emphatic" consonants this *a:* had the well-known "obscured" sound caused by the peculiar position of the organs, particularly the tongue, in producing them. When adjacent to any of the other consonants, however, the *a:* inclined to become, in singing, front *a:*. In ordinary conversation the tendency was to raise the front of the tongue, producing *æ:* and *e:*.

The diphthong *يَ* was, in his singing, nearly a pure *e:*, though it became occasionally the diphthong *ei*. In conversation the sound varied between *ai*, *e:*, and *ei*.

<sup>1</sup> In lines 17-19 we must suppose either that Frêj's memory faltered or that the author of the poem deliberately altered the scheme of his song.

<sup>2</sup> Note the exception, however, in the word *فوارس* (*fuwe:ris*) in several couplets (ll. 28 ff.).



The consonants ث and ذ frequently retained their original fricative sound, though as a rule they were not distinguished from ت and د.

ط and ض were rightly formed, though frequently not so sharply outlined as in other sections.

The fricative character of غ and خ was often considerably reduced and a faucal resonance given, so that they closely resembled ع and ح respectively. This is especially remarkable in that there seems no essential phonetic relation between غ and ع on the one hand and خ and ح on the other. In the mouth of any but a Semite such a weakened غ would have degenerated into a modern Greek gamma<sup>1</sup> or western Turkish غ, while the خ would have become the weak ح heard in Constantinople.

Aside from a few ordinary words like *jo:mən*, the nunation is not heard in the vernacular of the Negeb; but it occurred at the end of several lines of our song. Its character was that of a short nasal vowel with the tongue position of ə.<sup>2</sup> The sound was so light that it did not reproduce well on the phonographic records; and, as Frêj omitted the nunation entirely when later dictating the poem to the author, it has of necessity been omitted in the above transcriptions.

The poem might be considered as a *qasida*, taking this term in its broadest sense; though it is certainly a very degenerate form, even as compared with the average modern *qasida*. Perhaps it would be more charitable to the composer to call it, as did the Arabs, simply an *úghniye*, a "song." The melody was a weird, monotonous minor with a general effect quite different from most of the music heard in Palestine and Syria.

<sup>1</sup> As in the word γάλα.

<sup>2</sup> The nunation in *jo:mən* (l. 4) and similar words in current use is not a nasal vowel.



## Critical Note

### Ā AS AN OLD PLURAL ENDING OF THE HEBREW FEMININE NOUN

A close relationship exists between the Semitic noun and the Semitic verb. Without entering into the question of priority the connection between both is unmistakable. The masculine noun singular has no special sign, nor has the third masculine singular perfect<sup>1</sup> and imperfect.<sup>2</sup> The *t* is feminine sign of both, of the singular noun as well as of the third singular perfect and imperfect. The masculine plural ending *u* serves as such for the verb perfect and imperfect and also for the noun.<sup>3</sup> And the Aramaic plural ending of the feminine noun *ān* finds its counterpart in the ending of *ān* of third plural feminine imperfect as well as in the ending *ān* of third plural feminine perfect in the Jerusalem Talmud and the Targumim.

The biblical Aramaic has for third plural feminine perfect the ending *ā* (Dan. 5:5; 7:8, 20; so frequently also the Targumim) like the Ethiopic and Assyrian in all tempora and imperative. This ending is now known to have been preserved also in Hebrew in the perfect<sup>4</sup> and the imperative<sup>5</sup> and perhaps also in the imperfect if the Ketib in Ezek. 23:43 should be considered as a sufficient proof for it.<sup>6</sup> This phenomenon in the case of the *verb* would then, according to our observation about the relationship between the verb and the noun, justify us to look for it also in the plural feminine *noun*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brockelmann, *Vergl. Gram.*, I, § 262 a (p. 571), against Schultze, *Zur Formenlehre des sem. Verbs*, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *op. cit.*, § 260 Ca (p. 564).

<sup>3</sup> Also in Hebrew, cf. Seidel, "The *ū* as an Old Plural Ending of the Hebrew Noun," *JAOS*, XXXVII, 165; to the instances cited there add II Chron. 32:21: **רְמִיצָיו מְעִיר** Qerē: **רְמִיצָיו**.

<sup>4</sup> First pointed out by Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, XXXVIII, 411, footnote, and then by Lambert in a brochure: *une série de Qere Ketib*, Paris, 1891. To the instances enumerated by them, cf. *G.-K.*, § 44 o; cf. also Seidel: "חקרי לשון" in the Hebrew magazine **החברות הישראלית**, Jerusalem, 1913, pp. 69 ff., where are added Num. 34:4; Josh. 17:18; Zach. 14; Ezek. 16:49 (**הִיהָ**); in the last instance, however, **הִיהָ** may refer to the preceding **נָאֵר** (add Exod. 30:4, so the versions, seven manuscripts, and Samar.); Isa. 13:25 (**עֲנָה**); Jer. 51:29 (**קִמָּה**); and perhaps also Isa. 66:18 (**בָּאָה**) (cf., however, Jer. 4:14 [?]; Prov. 15:22; 20:18); Ezek. 23:29 (**וְנִגְלָה**); Mic. 1:19 (**בָּאָה** [?]); Hab. 3:17 (**עֲשֵׂה**); Zech. 9:2 (**חֲכִמָּה**; so also LXX). Add also, in accordance with several versions, Ezek. 16:49 (**הַחֲזִיקָה**).

<sup>5</sup> Isa. 32:11; cf. *RDK*, Luzzatto, *ad. loc.*; Steinberg **משפטי האורים** s.v. **עֲרָה**; Marti, *ad. loc.*; Barth, *ZDMG*, LVI, 247; *G.-K.*, § 48 i.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. also, Gen. 47:24: **וְאָרְבַּע הַיָּדוֹת יִהְיֶה לָכֶם**, and Exod. 28:7: **שְׁתֵּי כַּחֲפַת יִהְיֶה לוֹ**.



Traces of such a plural formation of the feminine noun I believe to have found in the following biblical passages: The noun מְלַחֶמָה is three times treated as a plural Exod. 1:10: כִּי תִקְרְאֶנָּה מְלַחֶמָה; Judg. 3:2: ללמדם מִפְנֵי הַמְלַחֶמָה אֲשֶׁר סָבְּבוּ עָדָה ה' מִפְנֵי הַמְלַחֶמָה אֲשֶׁר סָבְּבוּ עָדָה ה'; I Kings 5:17: שְׂאֵרָה הַנֶּחֱזֶקֶת . . . .<sup>1</sup> Another instance is שְׂאֵרָה, Lev. 18:17: שְׂאֵרָה הַנֶּחֱזֶקֶת . . . . לֹא תִגְלֶה, which Onqelos renders as a plural with קְרִיבָן (so also Raši), for the singular שְׂאֵר is always used, as *ibid.* vss. 12:13; 20:19; 21:2. I Kings 7:28: הַמְּכֻנֹת = הַמְּכֻנֹת. Isa. 42:17: לְמִסְכֹּת = לְמִסְכֹּת (in the last instances LXX has also the plural). Ezek. 1:22: הַחַיִּים = הַחַיִּים (so also the versions and some manuscripts). II Chron. 35:12: . . . . הָעֲלֹה = הָעֲלֹה לְתַחֵם.<sup>2</sup> II Kings 18:4: הָאֲשֵׁרֹת = הָאֲשֵׁרֹת (so the versions and one manuscript); perhaps is also אֲשֵׁרֹת in II Kings 21:3: אֲשֵׁרֹת = אֲשֵׁרֹת. Jer. 28:10, 12: אֶת הַמּוֹטָה . . . . LXX and Syriac render it in plural—מוֹטוֹת;<sup>3</sup> cf. *ibid.* 27:2: מוֹסְרוֹת וּמוֹטוֹת and *ibid.* 28:13: מוֹטוֹת עֵץ שִׁבְרִית וְעֵשִׂית תַּחְתִּיהֶן מוֹטוֹת בְּרוֹז.

The ending *ā* as feminine plural ending is also found in the participle active, I Kings 14:6: בָּאוֹת = אֲתוּלוֹת רַגְלֵיהֶן בָּאָה בַּפֶּתַח, referring to כָּל אֱלֹהִים (הַפְּתוּחָה);<sup>4</sup> and in the participle passive, Deut. 29:20: הַפְּתוּחָה.

<sup>1</sup> In the last instance have also the versions the plural; in Exod. 1:10 they read תִּקְרְאֶנָּה (or תִּקְרְאֶנָּה - תִּקְרְאֶנָּה) (cf. Aram. תִּקְרְאֶנָּה - Heb. תִּקְרְאֶנָּה).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Exod. 18:12: עֲלֹת - עֲלֹת וּזְבָחִים, corresponding to זְבָחִים (so also the versions); cf. also Ezek. 45:15; 17:23; 46:4; II Chron. 7:1; but עֲלֹת seems to have, like חֲטָאִת, a collective character. Exod. 15:26: כָּל הַמַּחֲלָה אֲשֶׁר שְׂמַתִּי בַּמִּצְרִים. Exod. 15:26: כָּל הַמַּחֲלָה אֲשֶׁר שְׂמַתִּי בַּמִּצְרִים (cf. Deut. 7:15; 28:60) which would best explain the article after *et*; cf., however, G.-K., § 127 b, footnote; cf. also II Sam. 19:8.

<sup>3</sup> The suffix in רִשְׁבְּרִי, Jer. 28:10, is rather difficult to explain, for even if the מוֹטָה were singular it ought to be רִשְׁבְּרִי; cf., however, I Kings 7:31; II Kings 18:14; Ps. 5:10; LXX and Syriac render it, of course, as if it had been רִשְׁבְּרִי. The versions have the plural also in such passages in which there is no inner evidence for it: Exod. 22:17: מִכְשַׁפָּה לֹא תַחֲיֶה. LXX has the plural (masc.); Jer. 6:19: הִנֵּה אֲנִי מְבִיא רַעָה, LXX—רַעָה; *ibid.* 32:19: רַעָה הַעֲלִילִיָּה; LXX, Syr., and Jonath. render it in plural; *ibid.* 44:2: רַעָה הַנֶּחֱזֶקֶת; according to the versions רַעָה is חֲרָבָה; *ibid.* 51:59: מְנוּחָה שֶׁר LXX and Jonath. render it in plural; *ibid.* 50:11: עֲגָלָה וְעֲגָלָה דָּשָׂא, but it seems that they read: עֲגָלָה (= כְּעֲגָלָה) instead of *ā* in plur. constr. as, e.g., in Gen 47:3: רַעָה אֲנִי עֹבֵד; cf. also LXX and some of the other versions to Jer. 5:7; Ps. 21:12; 66:5; 68:7. As plurals with the ending *ā* are perhaps also to be considered II Kings 8:17; 22:1: שְׁמֵנָה שְׁנָה (Qerē in 8:1; שְׁנִים) and *ibid.* 25:17: שְׁלֹשׁ אֲמָה; Qerē: אֲמָה.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 14:12: בָּבֹאֵה רַגְלֵיךְ I consider (s. חֲקִירָה *loc. cit.*) as בָּבֹאֵה, infinitive with the suffix of third plur. fem.; similar constructions we find Ezek. 10:3: בָּבֹאֵה הָאִישׁ; and *ibid.* 42:14: בָּבֹאֵה הַכְּהֵנִים.



הַפְּתוּבוֹת = (הַבְּרִית), referring to אֱלֹהִים as in vss. 19 f., 26.<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* 30:10: הַפְּתוּבוֹת = לְשִׁמְרֵי מִצְוֹתָיו וְהַקְּחֵי הַפְּתוּבָה בַּסֵּפֶר (so also Onqelos). Mic. 1:9: אֲנִישׁוֹת = (כִּי) אֲמֻסָּה (מִפְּתוּחָהּ).<sup>2</sup> Exod. 17:12: וַיְהִי יָדָיו אֲנִישׁוֹת perhaps אֲנִישׁוֹת.<sup>3</sup> A feminine plural ending *d* in the participle is found also in Aramaic, not only in the Talmud where it is frequently used in participle active and passive (cf. Margolis, *Lehrb. d. aram. Spr. d. Talmuds*, pp. 40–50), but also in Aramaic of a much earlier period. It occurs in a passage of the Aramaic Ahiqar found in Elephantine: חֲרָתִין מֶלֶךְ שְׁפִירָה וְזִיתָלְתָּא רַחֲמִינָה לְשִׁמְשׁ . . . .<sup>4</sup> Probably is also נְבֻזְבָּה in Dan. 2:6 plural = נְבֻזְבָּן as the parallel מִתְנֶן, *ibid.* 5:17 clearly show (cf. Marti, *Aram. Gram. in Glossar*).

For the origin of this ending two theories may be advanced: either that *d* was the original feminine plural ending (just as in the verb) and the *t* of the feminine plural ending *dt* is a later addition (by analogy of feminine singular (cf. *G.-K.*, § 87 l) after *d* had lost its force as feminine plural ending), or it is a later form that arose by dropping the *t* of the original feminine plural ending *dt*.<sup>5</sup> Its relation to Aramaic plural ending *d* in absolute status is probably the same as that of third feminine plural *d* (see above) to the Aramaic third feminine plural *dn*.

M. SEIDEL

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<sup>1</sup> So also the versions; Onq. is, however, no proof since he has the plural even for הָאֱלֹהִים הַזֵּאת, *ibid.* verse 19 a. m. o.; cf. Berliner, *Targ. Cnq.*, Berlin, 1884, 2. Theil, p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. note 6: LXX and Syriac read מִקְחָהּ.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. 68:14: נָחֵסוּ יְיָנוּ נָחֵסוּ? (or נָחֵסוּ?); cf., however, *G.-K.* § 146. Ps. 26:2: צִרְפָּה כְּלִיֹּתִי וּלְבִי (צִרְפָּה? Qeré) if it is pass. participle—so *RDK* and Ehrlich, *Die Psalmen*—is also to be considered as fem. plur. referring to לְבִי וְכָלִי.

<sup>4</sup> The talmudic (Sota 45 b) קְרֻבָּה וְאִסְלִי קְרֻבָּה in reference to Deut. 21:3 has in all probability nothing to do with *d* as the fem. plur. ending, but, as Raši, referring to רַבָּה וְרַבָּה Jonah 4:11, comments, רַבָּה is considered as a collective. On the other hand, many so-called collectives as well as dual forms like, e.g., Ass. *idd*, hands, may possibly be old feminine plurals. The same perhaps may be said of forms like עֲקָרָה, תַּסְאָרָה, etc., that they in reality are old plural forms of the singular עֲקָרָה, תַּסְאָרָה, etc.

<sup>5</sup> The ending *dt* is also still preserved in Hebrew: Ps. 119:103: מִהַ נְמַלְצִי לַחֲכִי מִהַ נְמַלְצִי לַחֲכִי; *ibid.* 9:15: לְמַעַן אֲסַפְרָה כָּל תְּהִלָּתְךָ; Isa. 47:13: בְּרֹב עֲצָתְךָ (in the last instances with *t* as after *d*); so is perhaps also Nah. 3:3: אֵין קֶצֶה לְגִיָּה וְכִשְׁלֹ; and Isa. 26:19: נִבְלָתִי יִקְוֶמוֹן is commented by Raši, בְּגִיָּוָתָם, בְּגִיָּוָתָם, בְּגִיָּוָתָם; so comments also Luzzatto here as well as *ibid.* verse 20: הֵם יִקְוֶמוֹ, וְסֹגֵר דְּלִתְיָהּ בַּעַד, in both cases expressly referring to the Aramaic fem. plur. ending *dt*.



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